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# RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ CAROLINÆ.

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OR THE

# VVORKS

OF THAT

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GREAT MONARCH

AND

GLORIOUS MARTYR

King *CHARLS* the I.

Collected together, and digested in order, according to their several Subjects, *CIVIL* and *SACRED*.

The Contents appear in the next ensuing Pages.

2 King 23.25. *And like unto him there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c.*
Heb. 11.4. *Being dead, he yet speaketh.*

B-10-37

C. R.

*HAGUE*,
Printed by *Samuel Browne*. 1650.

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SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO
CAROLO II. FILIO NAT. MAJ. CAR. I
MARTYRIO CORONATI.

VIRTUTUM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO
REGN. HÆRED. AC SUCCES. INDUBIO.
AVITÆ RELIG. LEGUM AC LIBERTAT
[QUAS IMPIA NOVATORUM RABIES
CONCULCAVIT]
INSTAURATORI DESIDERATISS.

SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS
RELIQUIAS.

DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ
PARTUS.

ÆTERNA VIRTUT. REGIARUM
MONUMENTA.

HUMILIME CONSECRAT
MAJEST. VESTRÆ SUBDITUS.

PATR. NUPER SERVUS
DEVOTISS.

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*Several Verses made by diverse persons upon His* Majesties *death.*

1 An Epitaph upon K. *CHARLS* by *I. H.* p.352

2 Another, p.353

3 Another by *A.B.* p.353

4 Upon the picture of his *Majesty* sitting in his chair before the High Court of Injustice, p.354

5 Upon the picture of his *Majesty* in his blew Wast-coat, p.354

6 An Elegy, by the M. of *Montrosse*, p.355

7 A Deep Groan at the Funeral of that Incomparable and Glorious Monarch *CHARLS* the first, by D. *H. K.* p.355

The

THe Reader is desired to take notice, That where-as there is published a late Book, intituled, *Certamen Religiosum, Or a Conference between His* Majesty *and the late deceased Marquesse of* Worcester, *concerning divers points of Religion*, That His Majesty is much wronged in that broken and imperfect Relation, w^ch depends upon the memory and credit of an obscure person, who, as it seems composed most of it, and published it diverse years after the Conference; and that it doth neither in the stile, nor matter, agree with his Majesties other Works, but in some things contradicts his Majesties judgement expressed in his other Tracts, as may appear in many places; especially, in his papers with *Henderson*, paper 5. compared with this Pamphlet, p. 116. &c. For which reasons, as also because it is not attested by any authentick Witness and seems to be published for other ends then are pretended, (as the Reader may easily discern) it was not therefore thought worthy to be joyned with his Majesties other genuine and undoubted Works.

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## Errata.

PAge 96. l. 15. for 24. r. 29. p. 97. l. 20. for *December* r. *February*, p. 150. l. 26 for *made* r. *more*. p. 160. *whole page is transposed. That of* 160 *is to come in, after that of* 161. p. 212. for 25 r. 24. p. 213 for 26 r. 25. p. 250 l. 2. for 1644. r. 1645. p. 254 l. 2. r. 1645. p. 27. l. 11. r. 36. p. 169. l. 24. for *honour* r. *horrour*.

# Several Speeches delivered by His MAJESTY to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, and at other places ſince the beginning of this PARLIAMENT.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes at the firſt meeting Novemb.* 3. 1640.

*My Lords,*

THE knowledge I had of the deſignes of my Scottiſh Subjects, was the cauſe of my calling the laſt Aſſembly of Parliament, wherein had I been believed, I ſincerely think, that things had not fallen out as now we ſee. But it is no wonder that men are ſo ſlow to believe that ſo great a ſedition ſhould be raiſed on ſo little ground. But now my Lords, and Gentlemen, the honour and ſafety of this Kingdom lying ſo neerly at the ſtake; I am reſolved, to put my ſelf freely and cleerly on the love and affections of my Engliſh Subjects, as thoſe of my Lords that did wait on me at *York*, very well remember I there declared. Therefore my Lords, I ſhall not mention mine own intereſt, or that ſupport I might juſtly expect from you, till the common ſafety be ſecured: though I muſt tell you, I am not aſhamed to ſay,

thoſe charges I have been at, have been meerly for the ſecuring and good of this Kingdom, though the ſucceſſe hath not been anſwerable to my deſires. Therefore I ſhall onely deſire you to conſider the beſt way both for the ſafety, and ſecurity of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts chiefly conſiderable. Firſt, the chaſing out of the Rebels. And ſecondly, that other, in ſatisfying your juſt grievances, wherein I ſhall promiſe you to concur ſo heartily and cleerly with you, that all the World may ſee my intentions have ever been and ſhall be, to make this a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdom. There are onely two things more that I ſhall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at *York* aſſiſted me, will only maintain my Army for two moneths from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now my Lords, and Gentlemen, I leave it to your conſiderations, what diſhonour and miſchief it might be, in caſe for want of money my Army be disbanded, before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, the ſecuring the calamities the Northern people endure at this time, and ſo long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may ſay not onely they, but all this Kingdom will ſuffer the harm; therefore I leave this alſo to your conſideration. For the ordering of theſe great affairs whereof you are to treat at this time, I am ſo confident of your love to me, and that your care is ſuch for the honour and ſafety of the Kingdom, that I ſhall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: onely this, that you may the better know the eſtate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a ſhort and free account of thoſe things that have happened in this interim, with this Proteſtation; that if his account be not ſatisfactory as it ought to be, I ſhall whenſoever you deſire, give you a full and perfect account of every particular.

particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament; that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspition one of another, as I promised my Lords at *York*; It shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

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## *His* Majesties *second Speech to the House of Lords*, Novemb. 5. 1640.

*My Lords,*

I Do expect that you will hastily make relation to the House of Commons, of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put my self on their love and affections at this time: and that you may know the better how to do so, I shall explain my self concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdom; tis true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us, although I am under treaty with them, and under my great Seal do call them Subjects, and so they are too. But the state of my Affairs in short is this; Its true, I did expect when I did will my Lords and great ones to be at *York*, to have given a gracious answer to all your grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisdomes and assistances to have made an end of that businesse: but I must tell you, that my Subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there: Therefore I can no wayes blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thank them for their pains and industry: and certainly had they as much power as affections, I should by that time have brought these distempers to a happy period; so that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*, where I

ſhall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not deſire to have this great work done in a corner, for I ſhall lay open all the ſteps of this miſ-underſtanding, and the cauſes of the great differences between Me and my Subjects of *Scotland.* And I doubt not but by your aſſiſtance to make them know their duty, and alſo by your aſſiſtance to make them return whether they will or no.

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## 3 *His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes at the Banqueting-houſe in White-Hall.*

### Jan. 25. 1640.

*My Lords,*

THe Knights, Citizens, & Burgeſſes; the principal cauſe of my coming here at this time, is by reaſon of the ſlow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very neceſſary to lay before you the ſtate of my affairs as now they ſtand, thereby to haſten (not interrupt) your proceedings.

Firſt, I muſt remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdom, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which, doth more cleerly ſhew the inconvenience thereof, then a better tongue then mine can expreſſe.

Therefore in the firſt place, I ſhall recommend unto you the quick diſpatch of that buſineſſe, aſſuring you that it cannot reſt upon me.

In the next place I muſt recommend unto you the ſtate of my Navie and Forts; the condition of both which is ſo well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, onely thus much; they are the walls and defence of this Kingdom, which if out of order, all men may eaſily judge what encouragement it will be to Our Enemies, and what diſheartning to Our Friends.

Laſt

Laſt of all, (and not the leaſt to be conſidered) I muſt lay before you the diſtractions that are at this preſent occaſioned through the connivencal of Parliament: for there are ſome men that more maliciouſly then ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation, and alteration of government.

Hence it cometh that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither diſputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but ſhew you a way of remedy, by ſhewing you my clear intentions, and ſome Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I ſhall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the Reformation of all Innovations both in Church and Common-wealth; and conſequently, that all Courts of Juſtice may be reformed according to Law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the beſt and pureſt times as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatſoever part of my Revenue ſhall be found illegall or heavie to my Subjects, I ſhall be willing to lay down, truſting in their affections. Having thus clearly and ſhorely ſet down my intentions, I will ſhew you ſome rubs, and muſt needs take notice of ſome very ſtrange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, againſt the eſtabliſhed government of the Church, and of the great threatnings againſt the Biſhops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at leaſt, their voices to be taken away.

If ſome of them have incroached too much upon the Temporalty (if it be ſo) I ſhall not be unwilling theſe things ſhould be redreſſed and reformed, as all other abuſes according to the wiſdom of former times; ſo far I ſhall go with you, no farther.

If upon ſerious debate you ſhall ſhew that Biſhops have ſome Temporal Authority, not ſo neceſſary for the government of the Church, and upholding E-

piſcopal Juriſdiction: I ſhall not be unwilling to deſire them to lay it down, but this muſt not be underſtood, that I ſhall any way conſent that their voice in Parliament ſhould be taken away: for in all the times of my Predeceſſours ſince the Conqueſt, and before, they have enjoyed it; I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the fundamental conſtitutions of this Kingdom.

There is one other Rock you are on, not in ſubſtance, but in form; and the form is ſo eſſential, that unleſſe it be reformed, it will ſplit you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Conſtables to uſe my Authority, I can no wayes conſent unto.

But to ſhew that I deſire to give you content in ſubſtance as well as in ſhew, you ſhall have a Bill for doing thereof, ſo that it do not trench neither againſt my Honour, neither againſt the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingeniouſly confeſſe, often Parliaments is the fitteſt means to keep correſpondency between me and my people, that I do ſo much deſire.

To conclude, now all that I have ſhewen you, the ſtate of My affairs, My own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you ſhun.

To give you all contentment, you ſhall likewiſe finde it by theſe Miniſters, I have, or ſhall have about me, for the effecting of theſe my good intentions, which ſhall redouble the peace of the Kingdom, and content you all. Concerning the Conference, you ſhall have a direct anſwer on Monday, which ſhall give you ſatisfaction.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes, in Anſwer to a Remonſtrance, about Papiſts, &c.* Febr. 3. 1640.

HAving taken into my ſerious conſideration the late Remonſtrance made unto me by the Houſe of Parliament, I give you this Anſwer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as alſo your tenderneſs of my ſafety, and the ſecurity of this State and Government. It is againſt my minde, that Popery or Superſtition ſhould any way increaſe within this Kingdom *I* will reſtrain the ſame by cauſing the Laws to be put in execution.

I am reſolved to provide againſt the Jeſuites and Papiſts, by ſetting forth a Proclamation with all ſpeed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one moneth; of which if they fail, or ſhall return, then they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Laws.

Concerning *Reſettie*, I give you to underſtand, that the Queen hath alwayes aſſured me, that to her knowledge he hath no Commiſſion, but onely to retain a perſonal correſpondence between her and the Pope, in things requiſite for the exerciſe of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which give her a full liberty of Conſcience: Yet I have perſwaded her, that ſince the miſunderſtanding of that perſons condition gives offence, ſhe will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a ſpecial care to reſtrain my Subjects from reſorting to Maſſe at *Denmark* houſe, S. *James*'s, and the Chappels of Ambaſſadours.

Laſtly, concerning *John Goodman* the Prieſt, I will

let you know the reaſon why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor my Father did ever avow, that any Prieſt in their times was executed meerly for Religion, which to me ſeems to be this particular caſe: yet ſeeing that I am preſſed by both Houſes, to give way to this, becauſe I will avoid the inconveniency of giving ſo great diſcontent to my people, as I conceive this Mercy may produce, therefore I do remit this particular caſe to both the Houſes: But I deſire them to take into their conſideration, the inconveniencies (as I conceive) that may upon this occaſion fall upon my Subjects and other Proteſtants abroad; eſpecially ſince it may ſeem to other States to be a ſeverity: which having thus repreſented, I think my ſelf diſcharged from all ill conſequences that may enſue upon the execution of this perſon.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech at the paſſing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.* Feb. 15. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons; you may remember when both Houſes were with Me at the Banquetting houſe at *White Hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wiſhed you to eſchew, this is the one of them, and of that conſequence, that I think never Bill paſſed here in this Houſe of more favour to the Subjects then this is; and if the other Rock be as happily paſſed over as this ſhall be at this time, I do not know what you can ask for ought I can ſee at this time, that I can make any queſtion to yeeld unto: Therefore I mention this to ſhew unto you the ſenſe that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation as I may ſay, that you have to me for it; for hitherto, to ſpeak freely, I had no great encouragement to do it; if I ſhould look to the outward face of your actions or proceedings,

proceedings, and not look to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make queſtion of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your ſelves to amend, and not in thoſe things that neerly concern the ſtrength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to ſhew you the ſtate of things as they are, you have taken the government all in pieces, and I may ſay, it is almoſt off the hinges.

A skilful Watchmaker to make clean his Watch, will take it a ſunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better, ſo that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on your parts, and I hope you ſhall ſee cleerly that I have performed really what I expreſſed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great truſt I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expreſſion of truſt, that before you do any thing for me, that I do put ſuch a confidence in you.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banquetting-houſe at Whitehall, about disbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c.* April 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for anſwer to your deſires, I ſay,

Firſt. Concerning the removal of Papiſts from Court, I am ſure you all know what legal truſt the Crown hath in this particular: and therefore I need not ſay any thing to give you aſſurance that I ſhall uſe it ſo, that there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of ſcandal.

Secondly. For diſarming of Papiſts, I am very

well content it ſhall be done according to Law.

Thirdly. For the Iriſh Army you muſt underſtand, I am already upon conſultation how to disband it, but I finde many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not onely fit to wiſh it, but to ſhew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I deſire: but ſince you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Countrey to wiſh for disbanding of all Armies; and to reſtore the ſame peace to all my three Kingdoms, that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will anſwer the ſame to God, and to your Countrey, to joyn with me heartily and ſpeedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to ſpeak of it, and there are but two wayes to do it.

One is, to anſwer their Petitions, and the ſecond is, to provide moneys. You are Maſters of the one, and with Me you are the Judges of the other. And you ſhall not be readier, nor ſo ready, to bring this to a happy concluſion, as I my ſelf ſhall be.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech in the Lords Houſe, before he paſſed the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of* Strafford, *May* 1. 1641.

*My Lords,*

I Had no intention to ſpeak of this buſineſſe this day, which is the great buſineſſe concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, becauſe I would do nothing that might ſerve to hinder your occaſions. But now it comes ſo to paſſe, that ſeeing of neceſſity I muſt have part in that judgement, I think it moſt neceſſary for me to declare my conſcience therein.

I am ſure you all know, I have been preſent at the hearing of this buſineſſe from the one end to the o-

other

other. And I muſt tell you, that in my conſcience I cannot condemn him of High Treaſon.

It is not fit for me to argue this buſineſſe, I am ſure you will not expect that, a poſitive Doctrine beſt becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I muſt tell you three truths, which I am ſure no body can tell, ſo well as My Self.

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Iriſh Army, nor ever was adviſed by any body ſo to do.

2. There never was any debate before me, either in publick Councel, or private Committee, of the diſloyalty of my Engliſh Subjects, nor ever had I any ſuſpicion of them.

3. That I never was counſelled by any, to alter the leaſt of any of the Laws of *England*, much leſſe to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durſt ever be ſo impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had, I ſhould have made them ſuch an example, and put ſuch a mark upon them, that all poſterity ſhould know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwiſe.

I deſire to be rightly underſtood: for though I tell you in my conſcience, I cannot condemn him of High Treaſon, yet I cannot ſay I can clear him of miſdemeanours. Therefore I hope that you may finde out a way to ſatisfie Juſtice, and your own fears, and not to preſſe my conſcience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conſcience is: and I muſt declare unto you, that to ſatisfie the people, I would do great matters; but in this of conſcience, neither fear, nor any other reſpect whatſoever, ſhall ever make me go againſt it.

His

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes at the paſſing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage*, June 22. 1641.

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time, as a teſtimony of your love, and beginning of your dutiful affections unto me: and I no way doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto me; and that in due time you will perform the reſt, when you have leiſure.

I do not doubt likewiſe, but that in paſſing this Bill you will ſee a teſtimony of the truſt and confidence I have in your affections; as alſo that I omit no occaſion whereby I may ſhew that affection to my people, that I deſire my people would ſhew to me, as in this Parliament hitherto no body can ſay but that I have ſought occaſions both to ſhew my affections unto them, and to remove diſputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill I hope you will know that I do freely and frankly give over the right which my Predeceſſours have ever challenged unto them (though I confeſſe diſputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times;) Therefore you will underſtand this but a mark of my confidence to put my Self wholly upon the love and affection of my people for my ſubſiſtence: And therefore I hope that in proſecution of this, you will go on as you have ſaid; and that though you have rumours of jealouſies and ſuſpitions, by flying and idle diſcourſes, that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confeſſe I never underſtood it otherwiſe then as having relation to the Scottiſh Army, and preventing inſurrection, which vaniſhed as ſoon as they were born.

And

And therefore now you ſee my clearneſſe, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other, for I never had other deſigne, but to win the affections of my people by my juſtice in my Government.

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*His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes at the paſſing of the Bills, for the taking away the High-Commiſsion and Star-Chamber, and regulating the Councel Table.*
July 5. 1641.

I Come to do the office w^ch I forbore to do on Saturday laſt, to give determination to theſe two Bils: But before I do it, I muſt tell you, that I cannot but be very ſenſible of thoſe reports, of diſcontent that I hear ſome have taken for not giving my conſent on Saturday. Me thinks it ſeems ſtrange, that any one ſhould think, I could paſſe two Bils of that importance as theſe were, without taking ſome fit time to conſider of them; for it is no leſſe then to alter, in a great meaſure, thoſe Fundamental Laws, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which many of my Predeceſſours have eſtabliſhed.

If you conſider what I have done this Parliament, diſcontent will not ſit in your hearts, for I hope you remember that I have granted, That the Judges hereafter ſhall hold their places, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, I have bounded the Forreſts, not according to my right, but according to late Cuſtomes.

I have eſtabliſhed the property of the Subjects, witneſſe the free giving, not taking away the Ship-money.

I have eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage & Poundage, which never was done in any my Predeceſſours times: I have granted.

granted a Law for Triennial Parliaments, and given way to an Act for the ſecuring of moneyes advanced for the diſbanding of the Armies; I have given free courſe of juſtice againſt Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution againſt Papiſts.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have aſked of me, and therefore me thinks you ſhould not wonder, if in ſome things I begin to refuſe. But I hope it ſhall not hinder your progreſſe in your great affairs, and I will not ſtick upon trivial matters, to give you content; I hope you are ſenſible of theſe beneficial favours beſtowed on you at this time.

To conclude. You know that by your conſent, there is a prefixed time ſet for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an abſolute neceſſity for it, I do not know but that things may ſo fall out, that it may be ſhortened; therefore I hope you will haſten the diſpatching of thoſe great buſineſſes that now are neceſſary to be done, and leave trivial and ſuperficial matters to an other meeting.

For my part I ſhall omit nothing that may give you juſt contentment, and ſtudy nothing more then your happineſſe, and thereof I hope you ſhall ſee a very good Teſtimony by paſſing theſe two Bils.

*Le Roy le veult.*

*This being done, his Majeſty ſaid, as followeth.*

I have one word more to ſpeak unto you, and I take now an occaſion to preſent it unto both Houſes, that thereby I hope all the World ſhall ſee, that there is a good underſtanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who having deſired me & the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but ſend my Ambaſſadour to aſſiſt him, though I am afraid I ſhall not have ſo good an anſwer as I expect, which my Nephew foreſeeing hath deſired me, for the better countenance of the ſame, to make a *Manifeſto* in

My

My Name, which is a thing of great conſequence: And if I ſhould do it alone, without the advice of my Parliament, it would rather be a ſcorn, then otherwiſe: Therefore I do propoſe it unto you, that if you will adviſe me to it, I think it were very fit to be publiſhed in my Name.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Scotch Parliament at* Edinbrough, *Aug.* 19. 1641.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THere hath nothing been ſo diſpleaſing to me as thoſe unlucky differences, which have hapned between me and my people, and nothing that I have more deſired, then to ſee this day wherein I hope not onely to ſettle theſe unhappy miſtakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Countrey. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to moſt) what difficulties I have paſſed through, and overcome, to be here at this preſent: yet this will I ſay, if love to my native Countrey had not been a chief motive to this journey, other reſpects might eaſily have found a ſhift to do that by a Commiſſion which I am come to perform my ſelf; and (this conſidered) I cannot doubt of ſuch real teſtimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royal power which I enjoy after 108 diſcents, and which you have ſo often profeſſed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I ſhall not think any pains ill beſtowed. Now the end of my coming is ſhortly this, to perfect whatſoever I have promiſed, and withall to quiet the diſtractions which have and may fall out amongſt you: And this I minde not ſuperficially but fully and cheerfully to perform: For I aſſure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulneſſe then to give my people a general ſatisfaction: wherefore not offering to endeer my ſelf unto you in words (which indeed is not my way)

I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just liberties of this my native Countrey before I proceed to any other Act.

## *His* Majesties *Speech to both Houses, after his return from* Scotland. *Decemb.* 2. 1641.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I Think it fit, after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no wayes in answer to Mr. Speakers learned Speech: Albeit I have staid longer then I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again, that the setling of my *Scotch* Affairs could any wayes permit, in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented People; So that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my return. For since that before my going I setled the Liberties of my Subjects, and gave the Laws a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse, and satisfaction of minde: But in stead of this, I finde them disturbed with jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous Designes and Plots; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses. I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lesned to me in this time of my absence, for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyful reception I had now at my entry into *London*, but rather as I hope that

that my preſence will eaſily diſperſe theſe fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to My people as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can poſsibly deſire. And I am ſo far from repenting Me of any Act I have done this Seſsion for the good of My people, that I proteſt if it were to do again I would do it, and will yet grant what elſe can be juſtly deſired for ſatisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here eſtabliſhed.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, It is *Ireland*, for which though I doubt not your care, yet Me thinks the preparations for it go but ſlowly on. The occaſion is the fitter for Me now to mention it, becauſe of the Arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come inſtructed from my Councel there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpoſe) to anſwer that Demand which it pleaſed both Houſes to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* ſent back by my command to my *Scotch*-Councel: Therefore my deſire is, That both Houſes would appoint a ſelect Committee, to end this buſineſſe with theſe Noblemen. *I* muſt conclude in telling you, that *I* ſeek my peoples happineſſe, for their flouriſhing is my greateſt glory, and their affections my greateſt ſtrength.

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*His* Majeſties *Speech to both Houſes about* Ireland, *and the Bill for preſsing Souldiers.* Dec. 14. 1641.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THe laſt time that *I* was in this place, and the laſt thing that *I* recommended unto you, was the buſineſſe of *Ireland*, whereby *I* was in good hope that *I* ſhould not have needed again to have put you in minde of that buſineſſe; But ſtill ſeeing the ſlow proceedings therein, and the daily Diſpatches that *I* have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable eſtate of My Proteſtant Subjects there, *I* cannot but

again

again earneſtly recommend the diſpach of that Expedition unto you, for it is the chief buſineſſe that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot (almoſt) be any buſineſſe that I can have more care of. I might now take up ſome of your time in expreſſing my deteſtation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations muſt ſuppreſſe this great inſolency, I do here in a word offer you whatſoever my power, pains, or induſtry can contribute to this good and neceſſary work of reducing the Iriſh Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part, I muſt here take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, That in caſe it come ſo to Me, as it may not infringe or diminiſh my Prerogative, I will paſſe it: And further, ſeeing there is a diſpute raiſed (I being little beholding to him whoſoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may paſſe with a *ſalvo jure*, both for King and people, leaving ſuch debates to a time that may better bear it. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill paſſe not, but thoſe that refuſe ſo fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is, or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all Diſputes, you go on cheerfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of *Ireland*.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech in the Houſe of Commons. about the five Members*, Jan. 4. 1641.

*Gentlemen*,

I Am ſorry for this occaſion of comming unto you: yeſterday I ſent a Serjeant at Armes upon a very important occaſion, to apprehend ſome that by my command were accuſed of High Treaſon, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Meſſage. And I muſt declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* ſhall be more careful of your Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermoſt of his power then I ſhall be; yet you muſt know, that in caſes of Treaſon, no perſon hath a priviledge, and therefore I am come to know if any of thoſe perſons that were accuſed are here; for I muſt tell you, Gentlemen, that ſo long as theſe perſons that I have accuſed (for no ſlight crime, but for Treaſon) are here, I cannot expect that this Houſe can be in the right way that I do heartily wiſh it: Therefore I am come to tell you, that I muſt have them whereſoever I finde them: Well, ſithence I ſee all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you ſhall ſend them unto me, as ſoon as they return hither: But I aſſure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but ſhall proceed againſt them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now ſithence I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly; That whatſoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect as ſoon as they come to the Houſe, you will ſend them to me, otherwiſe I muſt take my own courſe to finde them.

*His*

## *His* Majeſties *Speech at Guild Hall, about the five Members,* Jan. 5. 1641.

*Gentlemen,*

I Am come to demand ſuch priſoners as *I* have already attainted of High Treaſon, and do believe they are ſhrouded in the City, *I* hope no good man will keep them from Me, their offences are Treaſon and miſdemeanours of an high nature, *I* deſire your loving aſſiſtance herein, that they may be brought to a legall trial.

And whereas there are divers ſuſpicions raiſed, that *I* am a favourer of the Popiſh Religion, *I* do profeſſe in the name of a King, that *I* did and ever will, and that to the utmoſt of My power, be a proſecutor of all ſuch as ſhall any way oppoſe the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, either Papiſt or Separatiſt, and not onely ſo, but *I* will maintain and defend that true Proteſtant Religion which my Father did profeſſe: and *I* will ſtill continue in, during life.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech at* Theobalds, *at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia. March* 1. 1641.

I Am ſo much amazed at this Meſſage, that *I* know not what to Anſwer: You ſpeak of Jealouſies and Fears: Lay your hands to your hearts, and aſk your ſelves whether *I* may not likewiſe be diſturbed with Fears and Jealouſies: And if ſo, *I* aſſure you this Meſſage hath nothing leſſened them.

For the *Militia*, *I* thought ſo much of it before *I* ſent that Anſwer, and am ſo much aſſured that the Anſwer is agreeable to what in juſtice or reaſon you can aſk, or *I* in Honour grant, that *I* ſhall not alter it in any point.

For My Reſidence near you, *I* wiſh it might be ſo ſafe and honourable, that *I* had no cauſe to abſent my Self from *White Hall*; Aſk your ſelves whether *I* have not?

For my Son, *I* ſhall take that care of him, which ſhall juſtifie Me to God as a Father, and to My Dominions as a King.

To conclude, *I* aſſure you upon my Honour, that *I* have no thought but of peace and juſtice to my people, which *I* ſhall by all fair means ſeek to preſerve and maintain, relying upon the goodneſſe and providence of God, for the preſervation of My Self and Rights.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech at Newmarket to the Earl of* Holland, Pembroke, *and the reſt of the Committee that preſented the Declaration,* March 9. 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I ſhould give you a ſpeedy Anſwer to this ſtrange and unexpected Declaration: And I am ſorry (in the diſtractions of this Kingdom) you ſhould think this way of Addreſſe to be more convenient, then that propoſed by my Meſſage of the 20 of January laſt to both Houſes.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealouſies, I will take time to anſwer particularly, and doubt not but I ſhall do it to the ſatisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, diſcover the ſecrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treaſons, and then I ſhall ſtand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean time, I muſt tell you, That I rather expected a Vindication for the Imputation laid on me in Maſter *Pims* Speech, then that any more general Rumours and Diſcourſes ſhould get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not think they ſhould have been thought ſo groundleſſe or trivial, while ſo many Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and ſo great Tumults are remembred, unpuniſhed, uninquired into: I ſtill confeſſe my Fears, and call God to witneſſe, That they are greater for the true Proteſtant profeſſion, my People, and Laws, then for my own Rights or ſafety: though I muſt tell you, I conceive that none of theſe are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, Have I denied to paſſe any one Bill for the eaſe and ſecurity of my Subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for Me. Have

Have any of my people been tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? I have offered as free and general a Pardon, as your ſelves can deviſe. All this conſidered, There is a judgement from Heaven upon this Nation if theſe Diſtractions continue.

God ſo deal with Me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſsion, and for the Obſervation, and preſervation of the Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God will bleſſe and aſsiſt thoſe Laws for my preſervation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Anſwer to it when you ſhall receive the Anſwer to the Declaration it ſelf.

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*Some Paſſages that hapned the 9th of March, between the Kings Majeſty and the Committee of both Houſes, when the Declaration was Delivered.*

WHen His Majeſty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Maſter *Jermins* Tranſportation, his Majeſty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and ſaid, That's falſe. Which being afterwards toucht upon again, His Majeſty then ſaid, 'Tis a lye. And when he was informed, it related not to the Date, but the execution of the Warrant, His Majeſty ſaid, it might have been better expreſſed then, and that it was a high thing to tax a King with breach of promiſe. As for this Declaration His Majeſty ſaid, I could not have beleeved the Parliament would have ſent Me ſuch an one, if I had not ſeen it brought by ſuch perſons of honour. I am ſorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it. For by that I doubt not to ſatisfie My people; though I am confident, the greater part is ſo already.

Ye

Ye ſpeak of ill Counſels, but I am confident the Parliament hath had worſe informations then I have had Counſels, His Majeſtie aſking what he had denied the Parliament, the Earl of *Holland* inſtanced that of the *Militia*, his Majeſty replyed, that was no Bill: the Earl of *Holland* then ſaid, it was a neceſſary requeſt at this time, and His Majeſty alſo then ſaid, he had not denied it.

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## *What paſſed the next day, when His Majeſty delivered His Anſwer.*

WHich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the reſt of the Committee. And that being done, His Lordſhip endeavored to perſwade His Majeſty to come near the Parliament. Whereunto His Majeſty anſwered, I would you had given me cauſe, but I am ſure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in all *Ariſtotles Rhetoricks* there is no ſuch Argument of perſwaſion. The Earl of *Pembroke*, thereupon telling him that the Parliament had humbly beſought His Majeſty to come near them, as aforeſaid, His Majeſty replyed, He had learnt by our Declaration that words were not ſufficient. His Majeſty being then again moved by the ſaid Earl of *Pembroke* to expreſſe what he would have: ſaid, He would whip a Boy in *Weſtminſter* School that could not tell that by His Anſwer. And further ſaid, They were much miſtaken, if they thought His Anſwer of that, a denial. And being alſo aſked by the ſaid Earl of *Pembroke*, Whether the *Militia* might not be granted, as was deſired by the Paliament, for a time: His Majeſty anſwered, not for an hour; you have aſkt that of Me in this, was never aſkt of a King, and with which I will not truſt My Wife and Children.

*His*

*His* Majeſty *ſaid, The buſineſſe of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in, Four hundred will never do that work. It muſt be put into the hands of one. If I were truſted with it, I will pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a Beggar my Self, yet (ſpeaking with a ſtrong aſſeveration) I can finde money for that.*

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Sheriffe, Miniſters, Gentry, &c. of Yorkſhire, when they preſented their Petition,* April 5. 1642.

*Maſter Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,*

I Believe you expect not a preſent and particular anſwer to your Petition, becauſe it is new to me: Onely in generall *I* muſt tell you, That *I* ſee by it, that *I* am not deceived in the Confidence *I* have in the affections of this County to my perſon & State; and *I* aſſure you that *I* will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your petition to have in me: And *I* am glad to ſee that it is not upon miſtaken grounds, as other petitions have been to me ſince *I* came to this place: Concerning which, let Me obſerve unto you, That my Anſwers were to clear thoſe miſtakings; for *I* never did go about to puniſh or diſcourage them from petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the Subject did not agree with my ſenſe; Albeit within the memory of man, people have been diſcouraged, and threatned to be puniſhed for petitions.

*I* obſerve that your petition is ſo modeſt, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good, which indeed *I* expected, as knowing that in ſome particulars you have great reaſon to do: and there-

fore that you may not fare the worſe for your modeſty; *I* will put you in minde of three particulars, which *I* conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The firſt is concerning your trained Bands, to reduce them to a leſſer number, for which, *I* confeſſe to ſtand ingaged by promiſe to you, which *I* had performed long ſince, if *I* had been put in minde of it: And now *I* tell you, ſhew Me but the way, and (when you ſhall think fit) *I* ſhall inſtantly reduce them to that number, which *I* promiſed you two years ago.

The ſecond is, That which is owing to this County for Billet-money; the truth is, that for the preſent *I* cannot repay it: Onely *I* will ſay this, That if all the water had gone to the right Mill, (upon my word) you had been long ago ſatisfied in this particular. And ſo *I* leave to your diſcretions which way you will adviſe, and aſſiſt Me to comply with the engagements to you in this point.

The third is, That for which *I* was petitioned as *I* came up the laſt year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewiſe by divers others of this County, as *I* went Southward; And that is concerning the Court of *York*: And firſt let Me tell you, that as yet *I* know no legal diſſolution of it, for hitherto formally, there is nothing come to Me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore *I* may ſay, it is rather ſhaken in pieces, then diſſolved. Now My deſire is in complyance to what *I* anſwered the laſt year unto the ſeveral petitions delivered to Me upon this Subject, That you would conſult and agree among your ſelves in what manner you would have the Court eſtabliſhed moſt to your own contentments, and to the good of all theſe Northern parts, in ſuch a legal way, as that it may not juſtly be excepted againſt, and *I* aſſure you in the word of an honeſt Man, that you ſhall not blame Me, if you have not full ſatisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye ſhall have a particular Anſwer

ſwer to your petition, which ſhall be ſuch an one as *I* am confident will give you good ſatisfaction, and put you into ſuch a way, as, *I* hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Gentry of Yorkſhire attending His Majeſty at York. May* 12. 1641.

*Gentlemen,*

I Have cauſe of adding, not altering, what *I* meant to ſay, when *I* gave out the Summons for this dayes appearance, *I* little thought of theſe Meſſengers, or of ſuch a Meſſage as they brought, the which becauſe it confirmes Me in what *I* intend to ſpeak, and that *I* deſire you ſhould be truly informed of all paſſages between Me and the Parliament, you ſhall here read. Firſt, my Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes concerning *Hull*, the Anſwer of the Parliament to My two Meſſages concerning *Hull*, together with My Reply to the ſame, and My Meſſage to both Houſes, declaring the Reaſons why *I* refuſed to paſſe the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

*All which being read his Majeſty proceeded.*

I Will make no Paraphraſes upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer then a King, only this Obſervation, ſince Treaſon is countenanced ſo near Me, it is time to look to My ſafety: *I* avow, it was part of My wonder, that Men (whom *I* thought heretofore diſcreet, and moderate) ſhould have undertaken this imployment, and that ſince they came (*I* having delivered them the Anſwer you have heard, and commanded them to return perſonally with it to the Parliament) ſhould have flatly diſobeyed Me upon pretence of the Parliaments command. My end in telling you this, is to warn you of them; for ſince

theſe Men have brought Me ſuch a Meſſage, and diſobeyed ſo lawful a Command; I will not ſay what their intent of ſtaying here is, onely I bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Diſobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cauſe of My coming hither (Tumults and Diſorders having made Me leave the South) and not to make this a ſeat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe: Now if diſturbances come, I know whom I have reaſon to ſuſpect.

To be ſhort, you ſee that my Magazine is going to be taken from me (being my own proper goods) directly againſt my will; the *Militia* (againſt Law and my conſent) is going to be put in execution. And laſtly, Sir *John Hothams* Treaſon is countenanced: All this conſidered, none can blame me to apprehend dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (upon theſe real grounds) to tell you, that I am reſolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary jealouſies,) onely to ſecure my perſon. In which I deſire your concurrence and aſſiſtance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Proteſtant profeſſion from any affront or injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintain my Self without charge to the Countrey, intending not longer to keep them on foot, then I ſhall be ſecured of my juſt Apprehenſions by having ſatisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, of the County of* Nottingham, *at* Newark, *July* 4. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

YOur honeſt Reſolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of My Perſon, and the Laws of the Land, have been, and are ſo notable, that they have drawn Me hither onely to thank you: I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects, but am come hither onely to thank and encourage you: You have made the beſt judgement of happineſſe, by relying on that foundation, which the experience of ſo many hundred years hath given ſuch proof of, The aſſurance and ſecurity of the Law: and aſſure your ſelves when Laws ſhall be altered by any other Authority, then that by w^ch they were made, your foundations are deſtroyed: And though it ſeems at firſt but to take away My power, it will quickly ſwallow all your intereſt: I aſk nothing of you (though your demeanour gives Me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preſerve your own affections to the Religion and Lawes eſtabliſhed; I will juſtifie and protect thoſe affections, and will live and die with you in that quarrel.

His

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Lincoln, at Lincoln.* July 15. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

IF I could have ſuſpected your affections, or have cenſured the duty of this County by ſome late Actions in it, I ſhould not have taken this pains, to have given you a teſtimony of My affection to you, and to remove thoſe Objections which being raiſed by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and induſtry, get credit even with honeſt mindes. The truth is, I come to you, to aſſure you of My purpoſes and reſolutions, for the defence of what ever is and ſhould be dear unto you, your Religion, your Liberty, your Common intereſt, and the Law of the Land: and to undeceive you of that opinion, which I hear hath miſled many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by My Conſent and Authority. As I have already informed you, by My ſeveral Declarations and Meſſages, that the ſame is againſt the known Law, and an invaſion of My unqueſtionable Right, and of your Liberty and property, ſo I do now declare unto you, that the ſame is impoſed upon you againſt My Expreſſe Conſent, and in contempt of My Regal Authority: And therefore whoſoever ſhall henceforth preſume to Execute or Obey the ſame, I ſhall proceed againſt them, as againſt ſuch who promote Rebellion, and actually leavie war againſt Me: And I doubt not, but you will ſadly conſider, That if any Authority without and againſt My Conſent may lawfully impoſe ſuch burthens upon you, it may likewiſe take away all that you have from you, and ſubject you to their lawleſſe Arbitrary power and Government: And how far they are like to exerciſe that juriſdiction towards you, you may gueſſe by

by the insolence of Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, who (being a Subject) not onely presumes to keep his Soveraign, by force of Arms, out of His Town, but murthers his fellow Subjects, imprisons them, burns their Houses, drowns their Land, takes them Captive, and commits such Outrages and acts of Hostility, as the most unequal and outragious Enemies practise in any Countrey; That you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved, when your King is Oppressed, and His just Rights taken from Him. Who hath brought these Calamities upon your Neighbours at *Hull*, every Man sees; and they onely can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from Me, that I need put you in minde of the Gracious Acts passed by Me this Parliament on your behalfs: And if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest Subjects in the World, I am sure it is not My fault; that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general expressions; it is not in your power to name one particular, which might make you happy, that I have refused to Grant: Be not frighted with Apprehensions, That this Countrey is like to be the seat of a War; the seat of a War will be onely where persons rise in Rebellion against Me; that will not, I hope, be here, and then you shall be sure of My protection. I will live and dye in your defence. And that you may be in a readinesse, and a posture to defend your selves and Me against any Invasion or Rebellion, I have armed several persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, and of your own Countrey, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your Obedience, and I doubt not but you will finde it.

In a word, I assure you, upon the Faith and Honour

of a Chriſtian King, I will be alwayes as tender of any thing which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, protect and preſerve the Laws of the Land, and defend the juſt priviledge and freedom of Parliament, as of my Life, or my Crown: and when I fail in either of theſe, I will not look for your aſſiſtance; till then you are concerned not to ſee Me ſuffer.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of* Leiceſter, *at* Leiceſter, *July* 20. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

SInce I have found My preſence ſo very acceptable amongſt My good Subjects in theſe Northern parts, and that the Errours and Miſtakes amongſt them, have wholly proceeded from miſ-information, and are removed with more ſatisfaction and eaſe to them then they were received; I hold it a piece of My duty, to take the utmoſt pains I can, fully to inform and undeceive My people; and rather to prevent Crimes, then to puniſh them: In this Errand I am come to you, amongſt whom there hath not been the leaſt miſunderſtanding, to ſhew you, That I do not ſuſpect any malice in the place, or in the people, though perſons of as ill diſpoſitions have been buſie in it, and amongſt you, as in any County in *England*, and ſuch who have taken as great pains to do miſchief, and to bring Confuſion, as good men ſhould for peace and happineſſe: Though 'tis as true that very many worthier perſons amongſt you have appeared of contrary affections, which I ſhall alwayes acknowledge: I am come to you in a time too, when nothing could invite Me to ſuch a journey,

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but my affection to, and good eſteem of you; having ſent ſuch propoſitions, of peace & accommodation to my two Houſes of Parliament, that I hope to have no other uſe of your affections, but in your prayers; being ſure they will ſubmit to them with alacrity, if the unexcuſable Enemies to the peace of the Kingdom be not ſtrong enough to prevail: And then you will finde your ſelves ſo much concerned (for I have required nothing that with more juſtice can be denied Me (if it be duly weighed) then my Crown, or my Life may be taken from me) that I ſhall not need to aſk your aſſiſtance: I know you will bring Horſe, Men, Money, and Hearts worthy ſuch a Cauſe. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Laws (which I will defend with my life, I mean the good known Laws of the Land, not Ordinances without my conſent, which till within theſe twelve moneths was never heard of from the foundation of this Kingdom) will be the Quarrel: And in ſuch a cauſe, the taking away my Towns, Ships, Armes, and Money from Me, ſhall not diſhearten Me: the concurrence and affection of My people with Gods bleſſing will ſupply and recover all.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkſhire*, Auguſt 4. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

WHen I directed that ſummons ſhould be ſent out for your meeting here this day, My principall end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardneſſe and expreſſions you have made of your affections to Me ſince I came into this Countrey, and to aſſure you, That as the whole Kingdom hath great reaſon to value you exceedingly for it, ſo I ſhall be very unſatisfied with my Self, till I have found ſome way to fix a mark of favour, and

eſtimation upon this County, and this people, which may tell poſterity, how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my Sons too, in a juſt acknowledgement. This was the moſt I intended to ſay to you, but there is an unquiet ſpirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to diſturb, and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I choſe this place for My ſafety, is ſo notorious, that all Men know it, who know any thing; with what ſtrange violence, and indignities I have been purſued, ſince I came hither, needs no other Evidence, then Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that inſolence, That he will not ſuffer his Treaſon to be longer confined within thoſe walls, but makes ſallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects, drowns their Land, burns and plunders their Houſes, murthers; and with unheard of cruelty, torments their perſons; And this with ſo much delight, That he would not have the patience to wait what Anſwer ſhould be ſent to My juſt Demands, though in that reſpect I engaged My Self, to forbear to uſe any force, and kept my word; but choſe the night before that came, (as if he knew well what Anſwer I was to receive) to act thoſe Outrages.

Yet ſee the ſad effects of Fears and Jealouſies, the miſeries they have produced; No Man can tell you the leaſt good they have brought forth, or the leaſt evil they have prevented: What inconvenience and burthen My preſence hath been here, what diſturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private perſon, your ſelves are beſt Judges: And whatever ſcandal ſome men have pleaſed to caſt upon the Cavaliers (which they intend ſhould reach all my Retinew, and by degrees ſhall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been any eminent diſorder or dammage befallen any Man, by

any

any perſon of my Train, or under my protection.

I am ſure my directions have been very ſtrict in that point, and if they had not been obſerved, I think I ſhould have heard of it by nearer complaints, then from *London*; I pray God the ſame care may be taken there: I am ſure it hath not been. And to give you the fulleſt teſtimony of My affection to you, and to the peace of this County, and to ſhew you that no provocation ſhall provoke Me to make this place to be the ſeat of the War, I have for your ſakes, paſſed over the conſiderations of Honour, and notwithſtanding the reproaches every day laid on Me, laid no ſiege to that place, that they may not have the leaſt pretence of doing you miſchief, but reſolve by Gods help to recover *Hull* ſome other way, for that I will ever ſit down under ſo bold and unexcuſable a treaſon no honeſt man can imagin. But it ſeems other men are not of my minde, but reſolve to make a War at your own doors, whatſoever you do, or I ſuffer. To what purpoſe elſe is their new General armed with an authority, to kill and deſtroy all my good Subjects, their levies of Horſe and Foot, ſome whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted, and the ſending ſo many new ſouldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to ſally out, and to commit Rapine, and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you: In this I muſt aſk your advice, what you would do for your ſelves, and what you would have Me do for you: you ſee how I am ſtript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed againſt me, of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to deſtroy me, my money and proviſions of my Houſe taken from me, and all my ſubjects forbid and threatned if they come near me, that I may by Famine or Solitarineſſe be compelled to yeeld to the moſt diſhonourable Propoſitions, and to put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant perſons, who have entred into a Combination

tion to deſtroy Us; And all this done under pretence of a truſt repoſed by the people. How far you are from committing any ſuch truſt, moſt of the perſons truſted by you, and your own expreſsions of duty to me, hath manifeſted to all the World, and how far the whole Kingdom is from avowing ſuch a truſt, hath already in a great meaſure, and I doubt not will more every day appear, by the profeſsions of every County: for I am wholly caſt upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the bleſſing and aſſiſtance of God, the juſtneſſe of my cauſe, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may juſtly ſay, they are equal loſers with Me.

Gentlemen, I deſire you to conſider what courſe is to be taken for your own ſecurity from the excurſions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will aſſiſt you any way you propoſe. Next I deſire you, out of the publick proviſion, or your private ſtore, to furniſh me with ſuch a number of Arms (Muſquets and Corſlets) as you may conveniently ſpare, which I do promiſe to ſee fully repaid to you: Theſe Arms I deſire may be ſpeedily delivered to the cuſtody of my Lord Mayor of *York*, for my uſe principally for thoſe parts, which by reaſon of their diſtance from *Hull* are leaſt ſubject to the fear of violence from thence.

And whoſoever ſhall ſo furniſh me, ſhall be excuſed from their attendance and ſervice at muſters, till their Arms ſhall be reſtored; which may well be ſooner then I can promiſe, or you expect. I deſire nothing of you but what is neceſſary to be done for the preſervation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdom of *England*; for tis too evident all theſe are at ſtake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his perſon under the command of my L. of *Cumberland*,

*Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to your ſelves, who have expreſſed ſuch forwardneſſe in it.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech and Proteſtation in the Head of His Army, between Stafford and Wellington, after the reading of His Orders*, Septemb. 19. 1642.

*Gentlemen*,

YOu have heard theſe Orders read; It is your part in your ſeveral places to obſerve them exactly: The time cannot be long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reaſon to be careful: And I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in the puniſhing of thoſe, of what condition ſoever, who tranſgreſſe theſe inſtructions. I cannot ſuſpect your Courage and Reſolution; your Conſcience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you ſhall meet with no Enemies, but Traitours, moſt of them Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and Atheiſts, ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyal to Us. That you may ſee what uſe I mean to make of your valour, if it pleaſe God to bleſſe it with ſucceſſe, I have thought fit to publiſh my Reſolution to you in a Proteſtation, which when you have heard Me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I promiſe to live and dye with you.

*His*

## *His Majeſties Proteſtation.*

I Do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty GOD, and as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that I will to the utmoſt of my power defend and maintain *The true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in the ſame will live and dye.

I deſire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and property of the Subject* may be by them preſerved with the ſame care as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſſing upon this Army raiſed for my neceſſary Defence, to preſerve me from this Rebellion: I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe in the ſight of God, to maintain *the juſt priviledges and freedom of Parliament*, and to govern by *the known Laws of the Land* to my utmoſt power, and particularly to obſerve inviolably *the Laws conſented to by Me this Parliament*. In the mean while, if this time of War, and the great neceſſity and ſtraits I am now driven to, beget any violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to Me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the preſervation of *the peace of this Kingdom*.

When *I* willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this reſolution I hope for the cheerful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident of GODS bleſſing.

*His*

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Inhabitants of* Denby *and* Flint *at Wrexham,* Septemb. 27. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

I Am willing to take all occaſions to viſit all my good Subjects, in which number I have cauſe to reckon you of theſe two Counties, and having lately had a good expreſſion of your loyalty and affections to me by thoſe Levies which at your charge have been ſent me from your parts (which forwardneſſe of yours, I ſhall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerful Malignant party in this Kingdom, whoſe deſignes are no leſſe then to deſtroy my Perſon and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the preſent Government both of Church and State. The Leaders of theſe men by their ſubtilty & cunning practiſes have ſo prevailed upon the meaner ſort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chaſed from thence My Self, and the greateſt part of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament; their power and ſecret plots have had ſuch influence upon the ſmall remaining part of both Houſes, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royal aſſent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and ſpoiled of my Towns, Forts, Caſtles, and Goods, my Navy forcibly taken from Me, and imployed againſt me, all my Revenue is ſtopt and ſeized upon, and at this time a powerful Army is marching againſt Me. I wiſh this were all; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have moſt injuriouſly vented many falſe reproaches againſt my Perſon and Government,

Government, they have diſperſed in print many notorious falſe ſcandals upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to caſt upon me ſome aſperſions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two ſhips appointed for the guard of theſe Seas, tis true: but they conceal, that at the ſame time I ſent my Warrants to the *Downs*, commanding four as good ſhips to attend that ſervice in ſtead of thoſe ſhould be recalled, which Warrant by their means could not finde obedience. They forget that that they then imployed forty ſhips (many of them my own, and all of them ſet forth at the publick charge of this and that Kingdom,) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chaſe my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* againſt me. And that by the abſence of thoſe ſhips from the *Iriſh* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring ſtore of Arms, Ammunition, and ſupplyes to their ſuccours (to which we may juſtly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Proteſtant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few ſuits of clothes appointed (as they ſay) for *Ireland*, which ſome of my forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entring into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion againſt me) where I had reaſon to believe they would have been diſpoſed of amongſt their ſouldiers who then bore arms againſt me: they talk of a few horſes which I have made uſe of for my carriages (concealing that they were certified to be uſeleſſe for the ſervice of *Ireland*) when they themſelves have ſeized 100000 pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to periſh for want of it) and imployed it (together with ſuch part of the 400000 l. ſubſidy as they have received) to maintain an unnatural Civil War at home. Neither have they uſed their fellow Subjects better then they have done me their King. By their power

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the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and inſtead thereof they govern My people by Votes, and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not ſubmit to their unjuſt unlimited power are impriſoned, plundred, and deſtroyed, ſuch as will not pay ſuch exactions as they require towards this rebellion are threatned to be put out of protection (as they call it) of the Parliament, ſuch as conſcientiouſly remember their duty and loyalty to Me their Soveraign are reviled, perſecuted, and declared Traytors, ſuch as do deſire to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, as it is eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land are traduced and called Popiſh, and ſuperſtitious: And on the contrary ſuch as are known Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, & publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced & encouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not onely without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary, paſt this preſent Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Præmunire* that ſhall preſume ſo to oppreſſe the people. If you deſire to know who are the contrivers of theſe wicked deſignes, you ſhall finde ſome of their names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of *Auguſt* (to which I ſhall refer you) I wiſh their craft and power were not ſuch, that few of thoſe copies can come to the view of my good people, ſince that time theſe men ſo thirſt after the deſtruction of this Kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty (which might bring peace to this Kingdom, & beget a good underſtanding between me and my Parliament) fruitleſſe. In this diſtreſſe into w^ch theſe men have brought me, and this Kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, & the affections of my good people, & that you may clearly ſee what my reſolutions are, I ſhall cauſe my voluntary Proteſtation lately taken to be read to you. And I deſire that the Sheriffs of theſe

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two Counties will diſpoſe copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; theſe men having reſtrained the uſe of my preſſes at *London*, and the Univerſities.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County of Salop, at Shrewsbury*, Sept. 28. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

IT is ſome benefit to Me, from the inſolencies and misfortunes which have driven Me about, that they have brought me to ſo good a part of my Kingdom, and to ſo faithful a part of my people; I hope neither you nor I ſhall repent my coming hither, I will do my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The reſidence of an Army is not uſually pleaſant to any place, and mine may carry more fear with it, ſince it may be thought (being robbed and ſpoyled of all my own, and ſuch terrour uſed to fright and keep all men from ſupplying me) I muſt onely live upon the aid and relief of my people; but be not afraid: I would to God my poor Subjects ſuffered no more by the Inſolence and Violence of that Army raiſed againſt me (though they have made themſelves wanton even with plenty) then you ſhall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all diſorders: I will do my beſt, and this I'll promiſe you, no man ſhall be a loſer by me, if I can help it.

I have ſent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expoſe all my Land to Sale or Morgage, that, if it be poſſible, I may not bring the leaſt preſſure upon you: In the mean time, I have ſummoned you hither, to invite you to do that for

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me and your ſelves, for the mainteuance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do againſt Us. Do not ſuffer ſo good a cauſe to be loſt for want of ſupplying me with that which will be taken from you, by thoſe who purſue me with this violence. And whileſt theſe ill men ſacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry to deſtroy the Common-wealth, be you no leſſe liberal to preſerve it: Aſſure your ſelves if it pleaſe God to bleſſe me with ſucceſſe, I ſhall remember the Aſſiſtance every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the mindes of men are now poſſeſſed) be honour and comfort to you, That with ſome charge, and trouble to your ſelves, you did your part to ſupport your King, and preſerve the Kingdom.

I deſire Maſter Sheriff, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, to diſtribute themſelves in that method, that they may beſt receive the expreſſions which you ſhall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly repreſented to Me.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of* Oxon, *at* Oxford. *Novemb.* 2. 1642.

*Gentlemen,*

THough you ſee my Army marching from hence, I do not not intend to leave you, my Reſidence ſhall be ſo neer, that my power ſhall have an influence upon this place (of which I will beſides take a particular care) for your protection; therefore fear not to expreſſe your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom this

this Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man ſhall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, then I have to reſtore you to it; and I ſhall gueſſe by the evidence of this day at your natural diſpoſitions. In aſſiſting Me, you defend your ſelves, for believe it, the Sword which is now drawn againſt Me, will deſtroy you, if I defend you not. I have, and will venture my life for you, 'twill be a ſhame for you to venture nothing. Whatſoever you ſhall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you, and whatſoever you ſhall lend Me, I will in the word of a King ſee juſtly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriffe to receive ſuch money or plate as you (Gentlemen) ſhall be willing to aſſiſt Me with, and to return their names to Me: and you of the Clergy ſhall repair to Mr. Vice-Chancellour, who ſhall do the like, and I expect that you ſhould advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and return your Collections ſuddenly to Me by the hand of the Sheriffe. And I aſſure you I ſhall take eſpecial notice of ſuch who ſhall be backward in this time of ſo viſible neceſſity.

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Members of both Houſes of Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford, *January* 22. 1643.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

WHen I conſider your publick Intereſts and Concernments in the happineſſe and honour of this Nation, and your particular ſufferings in this Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me; I muſt look upon you as the moſt competent Conſiderers and Counſellours how to manage and improve the Condition We are all in; for ſure our condition is ſo equal, that the ſame violence hath oppreſſed Us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witneſſes of My Actions, and privy to My Intentions; and certainly if I had the leaſt thought, diſagreeing with the happineſſe and ſecurity of this Kingdom, I would not adviſe with ſuch Counſellours, and I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will ſo far prevail over the hearts and underſtandings of this whole Kingdom, (who muſt look upon you as perſons naturally and originally truſted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and malice of thoſe who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the people, to diſcredit my moſt entire Actions, and ſincere Promiſes; you will be the beſt witneſſes for the one, and ſecurity for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witneſſe with what unwillingneſſe I ſuffered My Self firſt to take up theſe defenſive Arms; indeed with ſo great, that I was firſt almoſt in the power of thoſe who in two ſet Battels, have ſufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the ſafety of my Perſon. I foreſaw not onely the rage and oppreſſion which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the malice of theſe ill men increaſed, and their purpoſes were detected; but alſo the great inconveniences My beſt Subjects would ſuffer even by My own Army, raiſed and kept for their preſervation and protection; for I was not ſo ill a Souldier, as not to foreſee how impoſſible it was to keep a ſtrict diſcipline, I being to ſtruggle with ſo many defects and neceſſities: and I aſſure you the ſenſe I have of their ſufferings, who deſerve well of Me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me then any thing for My own particular. My hope was, that either by ſucceſſe on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a ſhort end to this great ſtorm. But guilt and diſpair have made theſe Men more wicked, then I imagine they at firſt intended to be: for inſtead of removing and reconciling theſe bloody Diſtractions, and reſto-

ring

ring peace to this languiſhing Countrey, they have invited a Forreign power to invade this Kingdom, & that in your names, and challenge this Invaſion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your ſelves (as good *Patriots*) expreſſed your diſſent, and vindicated your ſelves from that imputation: and I doubt not but you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries know how far you are from deſiring ſuch aſſiſtance, and how abſolute and peremptory a breach this raiſing of Arms of My *Scots* Subjects is of that pacification, which was ſo lately and ſolemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conqueſt of you and your Laws. I ſhall ſend you all the advertiſments I have of that buſineſſe which is threatned from *Scotland*, and what is already acted from thence; and ſhall deſire your ſpeedy advice and aſſiſtance what is to be ſaid or done, both with reference to this, and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the ſame, I am ſure there will be no other difference in the way, then what upon debate and right underſtanding will be eaſily adjuſted. Let our Religion (in which We are all moſt nearly concerned, and without care of which We muſt not look for Gods bleſſing) be vindicated and preſerved; Let My Honour and Rights (which you finde to have an inſeparable relation with your own intereſts) be vindicated and reſtored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Priviledges, (without which I would not be your King) be ſecured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can adviſe Me to, I will not meet you in; and I doubt not We ſhall together inform Poſterity, how much our truſt and confidence in each other, is a better expedient for the peace and preſervation of the Kingdom, then Fears and Jealouſies.

I ſhall keep you no longer from conſulting together, then in telling you, that I have prepared fit places for your Meetings, to which I deſire you to repair this night; aſſuring you, that I will be alwayes ready

to

to receive any thing from you, admitting you to Me, or coming to you my Self, whensoever you shall desire. And so God direct you the best way.

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## *His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before His receiving the holy Eucharist, at* Christ-Church *in* Oxford. 1643.

*His* MAJESTY *being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbishop of* Armagh, *used these publick expressions, immediately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His knees, and beckning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.*

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World, the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Protestation.

## *His Majeſties Speech to the Members of both Houſes at* Oxford. *Feb.* 7. 1643.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I Have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick ſafety ſince your coming together. And firſt, I thank you for your inclination to peace; to which as my willingneſſe of complying ſhewed the conſtancy of my endeavours in the beſt way for the publick good, ſo the Rebels by their ſcornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done heretofore mine) have ſhewed their conſtancy in their way.

Next, I muſt thank every one of you for ſo cheerful applying your ſelves to the maintenance and Recruiting of my Army, which I hope God will ſo bleſſe, that thereby theſe Enemies of peace ſhall have their due reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) this alacrity of yours for providing for my Army, doth pleaſe me in no conſideration ſo much, as that it is the beſt way for peace; for certainly this ſtrange arrogancy of refuſing to Treat with you, can proceed from nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it is your preſent Honour, and will be more to poſterity, that God hath made you inſtruments to defend your Soveraign, and to preſerve your Countrey; to ſee that Religion and Law to flouriſh, which you have reſcued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompence every one of you: but if I ſhall not, here is One I hope will, in which he ſhall but perform my commands. For I have no greater ſadneſſe for thoſe who are my ill Subjects, then I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities.

And ſo GOD proſper your proceedings.

*Hi*

## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Lords and Commons aſſembled, at* Oxford, *at their receſſe,* April 26. 1644.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I Am now brought to you by your ſelves, for I ſhould not ſoon have parted with you, if you had not deſired it, and I believe that the ſame zeal and affection to Me and your Countrey, which hath brought & ſtaid you here, hath cauſed you to ſeek this *Receſſe*, that ſo by diſtributing your ſelves into your ſeveral Countreys, We may all the better reap the fruits of Our conſultations; wherefore in Gods name diſpoſe of your ſelves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you deſire.

I think moſt (if not all) of you are engaged in my ſervice, either in a Civil, or a Martial way; To you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands, that ſo by your good example and diſcipline, you may ſuppreſſe licenſe and diſorder, which will diſcredit, and may deſtroy the beſt cauſe.

And to you who are engaged in the Civil affairs, I muſt recommend theſe few particulars; That you expedite thoſe ſupplies of moneys, which by your advice I have ſent for, whether by Subſcription, or Exciſe, remembring that moneys are the Nerves of War.

Likewiſe that you uſe your beſt diligence for the preſſing of men, and encouragement of Voluntiers, by ſhewing them, that now the only way to preſerve themſelves from ſlavery, and their Countrey from ruine, is freely to engage their perſons.

But chiefly, and with all poſſible care to enform all

all my Subjects of the barbarity and odiouſneſſe of this Rebellion, how ſollicitous I have been for peace, and how inſolently and ſcornfully rejected, aſſuring them that my Arms are raiſed, and kept onely for the defence of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which being once ſecured & vindicated, I ſhall moſt cheerfully lay them down, I having (God knowes) with much unwillingneſſe taken them up.

Laſtly, aſſure them that theſe extraordinary wayes which neceſſity hath produced (and moſt of them not without your conſent or advice) for My ſupply, ſhall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice, and I ſhall in the mean time do My beſt to prevent, and puniſh all exorbitances and diſorders.

To conclude (My Lords and Gentlemen) I do now again (yet never enough) thank you for your great, and unanimous expreſſions of your affections to Me, which hath laid an unexpreſſeable Obligation upon Me, and be aſſured that there is no profeſſion which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably obſerve.

Now God who hath bleſſed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity, (which I eſteem as one not of his leaſt bleſſings) will I hope bring us all ſafe together again the eighth day of *October* next, in the mean time I ſhall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that ſhall be deſired.

## *His* Majeſties *Speech, at the delivery of the Votes for a Perſonal Treaty at* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *Auguſt* 7. 1648.

*By an Eye and Ear-witneſſe, who not truſting to his memory made uſe of his Pen. And for the truth of this Relation, the Relator appeals to the Commiſſioners themſelves, or to any there preſent, who had the happineſſe with him, to hear the moſt pious, moſt Chriſtian expreſſions, of a moſt Religious* King.

ON *Munday, Aug.* 7. 1648. The Commiſſioners having admittance into the KINGS preſence, the Votes were firſt read, and then preſented to the KING by the Earl of *Middleſex*, who deſired His MAJESTIES ſpeedy Anſwer: Telling Him, that their Return was limited to *ten dayes*: The KING then aſkt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the Meſſage?* My Lord of *Middleſex* anſwered, *No, Sir; they are to be counted from the day of our ſetting forth.* The KING replyed, *I have not then five dayes allowed Me to conſider of My Anſwer, which I preſume you expect in writing; And I have none to help Me, no not ſo much as a Clerk to tranſcribe; however I will really contribute My beſt endeavours to a happy peace.* —— After a ſhort pauſe, the KING ſaid, *I would have ſent to the Parliament; but I deſire them to take notice, that My long ſilence proceeded not from a dull ſtupid lazineſſe, or My being inſenſible of My own or the Kingdoms condition; but from the* Incapacity *that lay on Me by reaſon of former Votes: but now a way is opened to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended, as the onely means to a durable peace: I ſhall cheerfully embrace it, and none*

*ſhall more ſpeedily run to it, then My ſelf: And for My part, as being more concerned then any one in this Kingdom, nay ſhould I ſay more then all, I ſpeak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolical expreſſion, for I am aſſured, whoſoever gains, I ſhall be a loſer.* ——— His MAJESTY then read the Votes to himſelf, and having read them, ſaid, *I like them well, My deſires being included in theſe Votes: for what can I deſire more, then to treat with* Honour, Freedom, *and* Safety, *upon the Propoſitions, and ſuch other things as either I or the two Houſes ſhall offer?* ——His MAJESTY then aſkt, *Whether the Commiſſioners to Treat were yet nominated?* My Lord of *Middleſex* anſwered, *No, Sir.* Then the King ſaid, *In a Treaty two ſorts of things are conſiderable; ſome* Neceſſary, *others* Convenient: ——Then the King ſaid to them, *I will go and apply My Self to My Anſwer, that I may not delay a minute to promote ſo good a work.* And then withdrew, and for that time diſmiſſed the Commiſſioners.

On *Thurſday, Aug.* 10. the Commiſſioners waited on His MAJESTY to receive His Anſwer; and upon their entrance into the preſence, the King ſaid, *He was ſorry He was limited to ſo ſhort a time, and had ſo little helps for diſpatch, yet notwithſtanding he had prepared his Anſwer.* And immediately before the reading thereof, uſed theſe words, *That the laſt Meſſage he ſent to the Houſes, was delivered to the Commiſſioners Sealed: And had it been ſo preſented, it would have been better for him, but now he thought it fit to ſend this open, becauſe he could not be in a worſe* Condition; *being under ſo cloſe a* Reſtraint, *none being ſuffered to ſpeak a word to him, without ſuſpition.* ——— He then produced His Anſwer, and read it aloud in the Preſence Chamber, being full of company: And after he had read it, His MAJESTY ſaid, *That he hoped he had therein endeavoured to give ſatisfaction to His Parliament: There being nothing in it but what he conceiv'd is implied in their Votes.* And further added, *That there might be ſome*

*that*

*that would oppoſe this Treaty, as being gainers by theſe Wars, and therefore deſired the continuance of it. Others might think Him revengeful, but he ſaid he was ſo far from ſeeking revenge, That if a ſtraw lay in the way to hurt them, He would ſtoop and take it up to prevent it:* - And ſaid, *God forgive them, for I do.* Then the Commiſſioners coming to take their leaves of Him, He called them to Him, and aſked them, *how they liked his Anſwer?* They told Him, *They thought and hoped, it would produce a ſudden and happy well-grounded peace.*

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## *His* Majeſties *Speech to the Commiſſioners at the cloſe of the Treaty at* Newport. *Novem.* 4. 1648.

*At the cloſe of the Treaty the King made a ſhort Speech to this purpoſe.*

THat His Majeſty hoped, the Commiſſioners were now ſenſible, that none was more deſirous of a good and laſting peace then himſelf; That He had gone very far to give His two Houſes ſatisfaction; that He thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended, yet the Treaty it ſelf was not. That He expected to hear from His two Houſes about His own Propoſitions, and would be ready to make His Conceſſions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes. He deſired that the Commiſſioners would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expreſſions in ſome of His Debates; there being nothing in His intentions but kindneſſe; and that as they had taken abundance of freedom, and ſhewed great abilities in their Debates,

which have taken his Majesty off from some of his own opinions, so his Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of his Reasons would have prevailed with them, as he is confident, had it been with his two Houses, it would have done with them. And therefore beseeches them to take the same freedom with his two Houses, to presse them to a complyance with him in those things his conscience is not yet satisfied in, which more time may do; his opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible. Adding his Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfie him, professing, that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them candidly to represent all the transactions of this Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his conscience is unsatisfied) can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And then he and the Commissioners took leave; and at night after supper they came and kissed his hand, and received a great deal of respect from his Majesty.

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## *His* Majesties *Farewell Speech unto the Lords Commissioners at* Newport *in the Isle of* Wight. *Novemb.* 1648.

MY LORDS, you are come to take your leave of me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again: But Gods will be done, I thank God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer Men to do unto Me.

My

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in My fall and ruine, you ſee your own, and that alſo neer to you; I pray God ſend you better friends then I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot againſt Me and mine; and nothing ſo much afflicts Me, as the ſenſe and feeling *I* have of the ſufferings of My Subjects, and the miſeries that hang over My three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by thoſe who (upon pretences of good) violently purſue their own intereſts and ends.

*Theſe words His Majeſty delivered with much alacrity, and cheerfulneſſe, with a ſerene countenance, and carriage free from all diſturbance.*

*Thus He parted with the Lords, leaving many tender impreſſions, (if not in them, yet) in the other hearers.*

# FOURTY

Fourty Several

# MESSAGES

## for PEACE.

Sent by His *Majeſty* to the two Houſes of Parliament, before and ſince the breaking out of this War (whereof onely 21 were formerly printed together, and the reſt which were then omitted, are now added)

By all which may evidently appear, His *Majeſties* conſtant and earneſt endeavours after peace, both before and after His impriſonment: And His many and gracious Conceſſions offered for the obtaining of the ſame.

With two Declarations written by His Majeſty, the one, at *Carisbrook-Caſtle, Jan.* 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addreſſe.* The other, at *Newport, Novem.* 22. 1648. when His Majeſty was violently ſeized upon by the Army, after the Treaty was ended.

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*His*

I.

## His Majeſties Meſſage of the twentieth of January 1641. for compoſing of all differences.

HIs Majeſty perceiving the manifold diſtractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconvenience, and miſchief to this whole Government; In which, as His Majeſty is moſt chiefly intereſſed, ſo He holds himſelf by many Reaſons, moſt obliged to do what in him lies, for the preventing thereof; though He might juſtly expect (as moſt proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propoſitions for the remedies of theſe Evils, ought rather to come to Him then from Him; yet His fatherly care of all His people being ſuch, that He will rather lay by any particular reſpect of His own dignity, then that any time ſhould be loſt for prevention of theſe threatning Evils, which cannot admit the delayes of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this enſuing Propoſition to both Houſes of Parliament: That they will with all ſpeed fall into a ſerious conſideration of all thoſe particulars, which they ſhall hold neceſſary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of His Majeſties juſt and regal authority, and for the ſetling of His Revenue: As for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their priviledges, The free and quiet enjoying of their eſtates and fortunes; The liberties of their perſons; The ſecurity of the true Religion now profeſſed in the Church of *England*; and the ſetling of Ceremonies in ſuch a manner as may take away all juſt offence. Which when they ſhall have digeſted and compoſed into one entire body, that ſo His Majeſty and themſelves may be able to make the more

clear judgement of them, it ſhall then appear by what his Majeſty ſhall do, how far he hath been from intending or deſigning any of thoſe things, which the too great Fears and Jealouſies of ſome perſons ſeem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equal and exceed the greateſt Examples of the moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that if all the preſent diſtractions (which ſo apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the bleſſing of Almighty God) end in an happy and bleſſed accommodation; his Majeſty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God & Man to witneſſe, that it hath not failed on His part.

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2.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage of the* 15 *of March,* 1641. *from* Huntingdon, *upon His removal to* York, *in purſuance of the former.*

HIs Majeſty being now in His remove to His City of *York*, where He intends to make His Reſidence for ſome time, thinks fit to ſend this Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament.

That He doth very earneſtly deſire, that they will uſe all poſſible induſtry in expediting the buſineſſe of *Ireland*, in which they ſhall finde ſo cheerful a concurrence by His Majeſty, that no inconveniencee ſhall happen to that ſervice by His abſence, He having all that Paſſion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which He hath expreſſed in His former Meſſages, and being unable by words to manifeſt more affection to it, then He hath endeavoured to do by thoſe Meſſages (having likewiſe done all ſuch Acts as He hath been moved unto by His Parliament) Therefore if the miſfortunes and calamities of His poor Proteſtant Subjects there ſhall grow upon them (though His Majeſty ſhall be deeply concerned in, and ſenſible of their ſufferings)

ſufferings) He ſhall waſh His hands before all the World, from the leaſt imputation of ſlackneſſe in that moſt neceſſary and pious work.

And that His Majeſty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good underſtanding between Him and His Parliament, He thinks it neceſſary to declare, That as He hath been ſo tender of the priviledges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own, which He hath been enformed hath trencht upon their priviledges, ſo He expects an equal tenderneſſe in them of His Majeſties known & unqueſtionable priviledges (which are the priviledges of the Kingdom) amongſt which. He is aſſured it is a fundamental one, That His Subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order, or Injunction to which His Majeſty hath not given His conſent: And therefore He thinks it neceſſary to publiſh, That He expects, and hereby requires Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws eſtabliſhed, and that they preſume not upon any pretence of Order, or Ordinance (to which his Majeſty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to do or execute what is not warranted by thoſe Laws, his Majeſty being reſolved to keep the Laws himſelf, and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And his Majeſty once more recommends to his Parliament the ſubſtance of his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January* laſt, that they compoſe and digeſt, with all ſpeed ſuch Acts, as they ſhall think fit, for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying their Eſtates and Fortunes; the liberties of their perſons; the ſecurity of the true Religion, now profeſſed in the Church of *England*. The maintaining his Majeſties regal and juſt Authority, and ſetling his Revenue; his Majeſty being moſt deſirous to take all fitting and juſt wayes which may beget a happy underſtanding between

Him

Him and His Parliament, in which He conceives His greateſt power and riches do conſiſt.

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3.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage from* Nottingham, *When He ſet up His Standard.* Auguſt 25. 1642.

*By the Earls of* Southampton, *and* Dorſet, *Sir* John Culpeper, *Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir* W. Vvedal, *Knight.*

WE have with unſpeakable grief of heart long beheld the diſtractions of this Our Kingdom; Our very ſoul is full of anguiſh until We may finde ſome remedy to prevent the miſeries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civil War: And though all Our endeavours tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Us with all zeal and ſincerity) have been hitherto without that ſucceſſe We hoped for; Yet ſuch is Our conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve the publick peace, that We ſhall not be diſcouraged from uſing any Expedient, which by the bleſſing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happineſs to all Our good Subjects: To this end obſerving that many miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That ſome fit perſons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to

be

be authorized by Us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch freedom of debate, as may beſt tend to that happy concluſion, which all good men deſire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: Wherein as We promiſe in the word of a King all ſafety and encouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto Us, if you ſhall chooſe the place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholly leave to you, preſuming on the like care of the ſafety of thoſe We ſhall imploy, if you ſhall name an other place; So We aſſure you and all Our good Subjects, That (to the beſt of Our underſtanding) nothing ſhall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our juſt Prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt power and priviledges of Parliament, and render Us and Our people truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with you as firm reſolutions to do your Duty, and let all Our people joyn with Us in Our prayers to Almighty God for his bleſſing upon this Work.

If this propoſition ſhall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve Us from the guilt of any of that blood which muſt be ſpilt. And what opinion ſoever other men may have of Our power, We aſſure you nothing but Our Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of blood hath begot this motion, Our proviſion of Men, Arms, and Money being ſuch as may ſecure Us from further violence, till it pleaſe God to open the eyes of Our people.

4.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Sept.* 5. 1642. *in purſuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means We have uſed to prevent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how theſe means have been interpreted, becauſe being deſirous to avoid effuſion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſſe, that might make Our offer of a Treaty leſſe readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or ſet up our Standard againſt them, and much leſſe to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection; We utterly profeſſe againſt it before God and the World. And further to remove all poſſible ſcruples which may hinder the Treaty ſo much deſired by Us; We hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations againſt all perſons as Traytors or other wayes, for aſſiſting Us, We ſhall with all cheerfulneſſe upon the ſame day recall Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We ſhall be ready to grant any thing that ſhall be really for the good of Our Subjects; Conjuring you to conſider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree as by theſe Our offers We have declared Our Self to do: And aſſuring you that Our chief deſire in this World is to beget a good underſtanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament.

*His*

5.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage and Reply to the Anſwer of both Houſes, to His former Meſſage.* September 11. 1642.

WHo have taken moſt wayes, uſed moſt endeavours, and made moſt reall expreſſions to prevent the preſent Diſtractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former paſſages as Our two laſt Meſſages, which have been ſo fruitleſſe, That (though We have deſcended to deſire and preſſe it) not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained, unleſſe We would denude our Self of all force to defend Us from a viſible ſtrength marching againſt Us, & admit thoſe perſons accounted as Traytors to Us, who according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conſcience and Honour to preſerve) though We diſclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as againſt Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, To expreſſe the deep ſenſe We have of the publick miſery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and to apply Our Self to Our neceſſary Defence, wherein We wholly relye upon the providence of God, the juſtice of Our cauſe, and the affection of Our good people, ſo far We are from putting them out of Our protection. When you ſhall deſire a Treaty of Us, We ſhall piouſly remember whoſe blood is to be ſpilt in this Quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other Reaſon induced Us to leave our City of *London*, but that with Honour and Safety We could not ſtay there; nor to raiſe any force, but for the neceſſary defence of Our Perſon and the Law,

Law, againſt Leavies in oppoſition to both; ſo We ſhall ſuddenly and moſt willingly return to the one, and diſband the other, as ſoon as thoſe cauſes ſhall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert thoſe judgements which hang over this Nation, and ſo deal with Us and Our poſterity, as We deſire the preſervation and advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Law and the Liberty of the Subject, The juſt rights of Parliament, and the peace of the Kingdom.

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6.

## His Majeſties Meſſage of Nov. 12. 1642. from Brainford: After the defeat of the Parliaments forces at Edge-hill, and at Brainford.

WHereas the laſt night, being the eleventh of *November*, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houſes, with Our gracious Anſwer to their petition, We received certain information, (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houſes Committee or otherwiſe) that the Lord of *Eſſex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards Us, which hath neceſſitated Our ſudden reſolution to march with Our forces to *Brainford*; We have thought hereby fit to ſignifie to both Our Houſes of Parliament, That We are no leſſe deſirous of the peace of the Kingdom, then We expreſt in Our aforeſaid Anſwer; The propoſitions for which, We ſhall willingly receive where ever We are, and deſire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning; that all poſſible ſpeed may be made in ſo good a work, and all inconveniencies, otherwiſe likely to intervene, may be avoided.

And

AND to juſtifie yet further, that Our intention was no other then was here profeſt, aſſoon as We were enformed that the Earl of *Eſſex* his Forces were departed from *Kingſtone*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*, (Our end of not being incloſed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainford*, and to march away, and poſſeſſe that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profeſſion, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the leaſt thought, by ſo advancing to ſurprize and ſack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuſe into that Our City) And that is, That probably God Almighty would not have given ſuch a bleſſing to Our journey, as to have aſſiſted Us ſo both by Land and Water, as with leſſe then a third part of Our Foot, and with the loſſe but of ten men, to beat two of their beſt Regiments out of both *Brainfords*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drownd many others, to take five hundred priſoners, more arms, eleven Colours, and good ſtore of Ammunition, fifteen pieces of Ordinance, (whereof We ſunk moſt that We brought not away), and then unfought with, and unoffered at, nearer then by Ordinance, to march away, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the paſſages, if He, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and Truth it ſelf, had not known the truth of our profeſſions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how far We were from deſerving thoſe horrid accuſations of Falſhood, and Treachery caſt ſo point blank upon Our own perſon, that it would amaze any man to ſee them ſuffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kinde

kinde could be a wonder, after ſo many of the fam[illegible] and how really they deſire accommodation, who upon this have Voted they will have none.

Theſe Our Reaſons for this Action, This Our ſatisfaction ſent for it, and this bleſſing of God upon it, will (We doubt not) clear Us to all indifferent perſons both of the Jeſuitical Counſels, and the perſonal Treachery, to which ſome have preſemed ſo impudently to impute it; And God ſo bleſſe Our future Actions, as We have delivered the truth of this.

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## 7.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage containing His Reply to the Anſwer of both Houſes to His former Meſſage.* Novemb. 18. 1642.

*To the Anſwer of both Houſes of Parliament to His* Majeſties *Meſſage of the* 12 *of November, His* Majeſty *makes this Reply.*

THat this Meſſage of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was ſent to them firſt upon the ſame day upon which it was dated, and meeting with ſtops by the way, was again ſent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Eſſex*, & though not to him directed, was by him opened, ſo the ſlowneſſe of the Delivery is not ſo ſtrange as the ſtop of the Letter ſaid to be ſent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, which His Majeſty hath not yet received, but concludes from the matter expreſſed to have been contained in that Letter (to wit, to know His pleaſure, whether He intended the forbearance of Hoſtility) and by the command of ſuch forbearance ſaid to be ſent to the Lord of *Eſſex* his Army, that no ſuch forbearance was already concluded, and conſequently neither had already

His Majeſty cauſe to ſuppoſe that He ſhould take any of their Forces unprovided and ſecure in expectation of a fair Treaty, neither could any Hoſtile Act of His Majeſties forces have been a courſe unſuitable to His Expreſſions, much leſſe could an endeavour to prepoſſeſſe (for ſo He hoped He might have done) that place, which might have ſtopt the further march of thoſe forces towards Him (which, for ought appeared to Him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effuſion of blood, deſerve that ſtile.

His Majeſty further conceives, That the pointing ſo out of time of ſuch a Declaration, as their Reply to His Anſwer to theirs of the ſix and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the delivery of their Petition, and the march of the Earl of *Eſſex* his forces to *Brainford* ſo near to his Majeſty, when the Committee at the ſame time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earl of *Eſſex* being before poſſeſt of all the other Avenues to his Army, by his Forces at *Windſore*, *Acton*, and *Kingſtone*, was a more ſtrange introduction to peace, then for His Majeſty not to ſuffer Himſelf to be coopt up on all ſides, becauſe a Treaty had been mentioned, which was ſo really & ſo much deſired by His Majeſty, that this proceeding ſeems to Him purpoſely to be by ſome intended to divert (w^h it could not do) that His inclination

That His Majeſty had no intention to maſter the City by ſo advancing, beſides His profeſſion, which (how meanly ſoever they ſeem to value it) He conceives a ſufficient Argument (eſpecially being onely oppoſed by ſuſpitions and ſurmiſes) may appear by His not purſuing His victory at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to His Army to march away to *Kingſtone* as ſoon as He heard that place was quitted, before any notice or appearance of further Forces from *London*; Nor could He finde a better way to ſatisfie them before hand, that He had no ſuch intention, but that

His

His deſire of peace, and of propoſitions that might conduce to it, ſtill continued, then by that Meſſage of the twelfth, for which care of His He was requited by ſuch a reception of His Meſſage and Meſſenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Cuſtomes, and Law of War, and Nations, and ſuch as theirs (though after this provocation) hath not found from Him.

His Majeſty wonders that His ſouldiers ſhould be charged with thirſting after blood, who took above five hundred priſoners in the very heat of the fight, His Majeſty having ſince diſmiſſed all the common ſouldiers, and entertained ſuch as were willing to ſerve Him, and required onely from the reſt an oath not to ſerve againſt Him: And His Majeſty ſuppoſes ſuch moſt apt and likely to maintain their power by blood and rapine, who have onely got it by Oppreſſion and injuſtice; That His is veſted in Him by the Law, and by that onely (if the deſtructive Counſels of others would not hinder ſuch a peace, in which that might once again be the Univerſal Rule, and in which Religion and Juſtice can onely flouriſh) He deſires to maintain it. And if peace were equally deſired by them, as it is by His Majeſty, He conceives it would have been proper to have ſent Him ſuch a paper as ſhould have contained juſt propoſitions of peace, and not an unjuſt accuſation of His Counſels, proceedings, and perſon. And His Majeſty intends to march to ſuch a diſtance from His City of *London*, as may take away all pretence of apprehenſion from His Army, that might hinder them in all ſecurity from yet preparing them to be ſent to Him, and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the preſſures and miſeries, which His Subjects to His great grief ſuffer through this War, by a preſent battell.

His

## 8.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage for a Treaty*, March 3. 1643. *from Oxford.*

### *C. R.*

OUt of Our moſt tender and pious ſenſe of the ſad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied deſires to apply all Remedies, which by the bleſſing of Almighty God, may recoves it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and deſire, that a convenient number of fit perſons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch place as you ſhall nominate, with an equal number of fit perſons, whom We ſhall appoint and authorize to treat of the wayes and means to ſettle the preſent diſtractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy peace. And particularly, how all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, with due conſideration to all juſt, and reaſonable eaſe of tender conſciences; to the ſetling and maintaining of Our juſt Rights and priviledges; of the Rights and priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land,

the

the Liberty and property of the Subject; and all other expedients that may conduce to that bleſſed end of a firm and laſting peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect underſtanding betwixt Us and Our people, wherein no endeavours or Concurrence of Ours ſhall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of peace. *Given at Our Court at* Oxford, the third day of *March.* 1643.

*Superſcribed,*

*To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter.

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9.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage after the ending of the Treaty at* Oxford, *concerning the diſbanding of all Forces, and His return to the Parliament.* April 12. 1643. Oxford.

TO ſhew to the whole World how earneſtly His Majeſty longs for peace, and that no ſucceſſe ſhall make Him deſire the continuance of His Army to any other end; or for any longer time then that, and untill things may be ſo ſetled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence and preſervation of the Rights of His Majeſty, both Houſes, and His good Subjects.

1. As ſoon as His Maieſty is ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which He deſires nothing but that the Juſt, Known, Legal Rights of His Majeſty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the perſons

perſons truſted by Him; which hath been violently taken from both, be reſtored unto Him, and unto them, unleſſe any juſt and legal exceptions againſt any of the perſons truſted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majeſty) can be made appear to Him.

2. As ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the firſt of *January*, 1641. the ſame of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free Election of thoſe that ſent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majeſty in theſe diſtractions. His Majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either to the Biſhops, whoſe Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to ſuch in whoſe places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As ſoon as His Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecured from ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great breach of the priviledges, and the high diſhonour of Parliaments, have formerly aſſembled about both Houſes, and awed the Members of the ſame, and occaſioned two ſeveral complaints from the Lords Houſe, and two ſeverall deſires of that Houſe to the Houſe of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration againſt them, the complying with which deſire, might have prevented all theſe miſerable diſtractions which have enſued. Which ſecurity His Majeſty conceives can be onely ſetled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome other place, at the leaſt twenty miles from *London*, the choice of which His Majeſty leaves to both Houſes.

His Majeſty will moſt cheerfully and readily conſent that both Armies be immediately diſt anded, and give a preſent meeting to both His Houſes of Parliament at the time and place, at and to which the Parliament ſhall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majeſty being moſt confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and eſtimation, and that

that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious preaching and printing againſt His Majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed Lawes, which hath bin one of the chief cauſes of the preſent diſtractions; and ſuch care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of His Majeſty, and the property and liberty of His Subjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſhed or done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houſes, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raiſe Armes without His Majeſties conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out for the future, to diſturbe the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in ſuch a convention His Majeſty is reſolved by His readineſſe to conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to Him by Bill for the real good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants,) for the education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the penalties againſt them) to make known to all the world how cauſeleſſe thoſe fears and jealouſies have been, which have been raiſed againſt Him, and by that ſo diſtracted this miſerable Kingdom. And if this offer of His Majeſty be not conſented to, (in which He aſks nothing for which there is not apparant juſtice on His ſide, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himſelf and people, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in [illegible] might now require) His Majeſty is confident that it will then appear to all the world, not onely who is moſt deſirous of Peace, and whoſe fault it is that

both

both Armies are not now diſbanded, but who have been the true and firſt cauſe that this peace was ever interrupted, or theſe Armies raiſed; & the beginning or continuance of the War, and the deſtruction and deſolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will not, by the moſt intereſſed, paſſionate, or prejudicate perſon, be imputed to His Majeſty.

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10.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of the* 19 *of May*, 1643. *in purſuance of the former.*

Oxford.

SInce His Majeſties Meſſage of the twelfth of *April*, (in which He conceived He had made ſuch an Overture for the immediate diſbanding of all Armies, and compoſure of theſe preſent miſerable diſtractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament, that a perfect and ſetled peace would have enſued) hath in all this time (above a full moneth) procured no Anſwer from both Houſes, His Majeſty might well believe Himſelf abſolved before God and Man, from the leaſt poſſible Charge of not having uſed His utmoſt endeavour for peace: yet when He conſiders that the Scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of His own Kingdom, that all the blood which is ſpilt is of His own Subjects, and that what victory ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give Him, muſt be over thoſe who ought not to have liſted up their hands againſt Him; When He conſiders that theſe deſperate civil Diſſentions may encourage and invite a forraign Enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in preſent danger to be totally loſt; That the heavie judgements of God, Plague, Peſtilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Contention; And that in a ſhort time, there will

be ſo general a habit of uncharitableneſſe and cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even peace it ſelf will not reſtore His people to their old temper and ſecurity, His Majeſty cannot but again call for an Anſwer to that His Meſſage; which gives ſo fair a Riſe, to end theſe unnatural diſtractions. And His Majeſty doth this with the more earneſtneſſe, becauſe He doubts not the condition of His Armies in ſeveral parts, His ſtrength of Horſe, Foot, and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which ſome men lately might conceive He wanted) is ſo well known and underſtood, that it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing but the tenderneſſe and love to His people, and thoſe Chriſtian impreſſions which alwayes have, and He hopes alwayes ſhall dwell in his heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refuſal. And He requires them as they will anſwer to God, to Himſelf, and all the World, That they will no longer ſuffer their fellow ſubjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whoſe authority, and to what end they met in that Counſel, and ſent ſuch an Anſwer to His Majeſty as may open a door to let in a firm peace and ſecurity to the whole Kingdom. If His Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of His intentions herein, the blood, rapine, and diſtraction, which muſt follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be caſt upon the account of thoſe who are deaf to the motion of of peace and accommodation.

His

II.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage from* Eveſham, *after the defeat of* Waller *at Cropredy-bridge,* July 4. 1644.

*To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter.*

*C. R.*

WE being deeply ſenſible of the miſeries and calamities of this Our Kingdom, and of the grievous ſufferings of Our poor ſubjects, do moſt earneſtly deſire that ſome expedient may be found out, which by the bleſſing of God may prevent the further effuſion of blood, and reſtore the Nation to peace, from the earneſt and conſtant endeavouring of which, as no diſcouragement given Us on the contrary part ſhall make Us ceaſe, ſo no ſucceſſe on Ours ſhall ever divert Us. For the effecting whereof We are moſt ready and willing to condeſcend to all that ſhall be for the good of Us and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or of ſuch further conceſſion as ſhall be requiſite to the giving a full aſſurance of the performance of all Our moſt real profeſſions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, with due regard to the eaſe of tender conſciences, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; as alſo by granting a general pardon without or with exceptions, as ſhall be thought fit. In order to which bleſſed peace, We do deſire and propound to the

Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, That they appoint ſuch, and ſo many perſons as they ſhall think fit ſufficiently authorized by them to attend Us at Our Army, upon ſafe conduct to come & return (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Us, how the premiſſes and all other things in queſtion betwixt Us and them, may be fully ſetled; whereby all unhappy miſtakings betwixt Us and Our people being removed, there may be a preſent Ceſſation of Arms, and as ſoon as may be, a total diſbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be reſtored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer ſhall be accepted, there ſhall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may make Our people ſecure and happy.

*Given at Our Court at* Eveſham *the fourth of July* 1644.

12.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage from* Taveſtock *for Accommodation,* Septemb. 8. 1644. *After the defeat of the Earl of* Eſſex *in* Cornwall.

*To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter.*

C. R.

IT having pleaſed GOD in ſo eminent a manner, lately to bleſſe Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſſe,

ceſſe, We do no not ſo much joy in that bleſſing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as We do, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it may open your ears, and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Us, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours, of which we are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof, We do upon this occaſion conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too long neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſham*, which We again renue unto you. And that you will ſpeedily ſend Us ſuch an anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects, ſome light of a deliverance from their preſent calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo God direct you in the wayes of peace.

*Given at Our Court at* Taveſtock *the* 8. *of* Septemb. 1644.

13.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage for a ſafe conduct for certain perſons of Honour, to be ſent with Propoſitions of Peace.* Decem. 5. 1645. Oxford.

*Charls R.*

HIs Majeſty being deeply ſenſible of the continuation of this bloody and unnatural War, cannot think himſelf diſcharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preſervation of His people, without the conſtant application of His earneſt endeavours to finde ſome expedient for the ſpeedy ending of theſe unhappy diſtractions, if that may be, doth therefore deſire, That a ſafe Conduct may be forthwith ſent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham* and *Jeffery Palmer* Eſquires, and their attendants, with Coaches, Horſes, and other accommodations for their journey to Weſtminſter, during their ſtay there, and return when they ſhall think fit. Whom His Majeſty intends to ſend to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furniſhed with ſuch propoſitions, as His Majeſty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford* 5 *Decemb.* 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore.

14.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Decemb.* 15. 1645. *in purſuance of the former.* Oxford.

*Charls R.*

HIs Majeſty cannot but extreamly wonder, that after ſo many expreſſions on your part, of a deep and ſeeming ſenſe of the miſeries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to His perſon during the continuance of this unnatural War, your many great and ſo often repeated proteſtations, that the raiſing of theſe Arms hath been onely for the neceſſary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majeſties honour, ſafety and proſperity, the peace, comfort, and ſecurity of His people, you ſhould delay a ſafe conduct to the perſons mentioned in His Majeſties Meſſage of the fifth of this inſtant *December*, which are to be ſent unto you with Propoſitions for a well-grounded peace: A thing ſo far from having been denied at any time by His Majeſty, whenſoever you have deſired the ſame, that He believes it hath been ſeldom (if ever) practiſed among the moſt avowed and profeſſed enemies, much leſſe from Subjects to their King. But His Majeſty is reſolved, that no diſcouragements whatſoever ſhall make Him fail of His part, in doing His utmoſt endeavours to put an end to theſe calamities, which if not in time prevented, muſt prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again deſire, That a ſafe Conduct may be forthwith ſent for thoſe perſons expreſſed in His former Meſſage, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will anſwer to Almighty God, in that day when He ſhall make inquiſition for all the blood that hath and may yet be ſpilt in this unnatural War, as you tender the preſervation and eſtabliſh-

ment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of duty and Allegiance to your King, or compaſſion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your ſelves, that you diſpoſe your hearts to a true ſenſe, and imploy all your faculties in a more ſerious endeavour, together with his Majeſty, to ſet a ſpeedy end to theſe waſting Diviſions, and then He ſhall not doubt, but that God will yet again give the bleſſing of peace to this diſtracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of Decemb. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore.

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15.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage for a perſonal Treaty, with Propoſitions for Peace*, Dec. 15. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithſtanding the ſtrange and unexpected delayes (which can be preſidented by no former times) to his Majeſties two former Meſſages, his Majeſty will lay aſide all expoſtulations, as rather ſerving to loſe time, then to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the preſent) do afflict this diſtracted Kingdom; therefore without further preamble, his Majeſty thinks it moſt neceſſary to ſend theſe propoſitions this way, which He intended to do by the perſons mentioned in His former Meſſages, though He well knows the great diſadvantage which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well-inſtructed Meſſengers.

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His Majeſty conceiving that the former treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of power in thoſe perſons that treated, as likewiſe, becauſe thoſe from whom their power was derived (not poſſibly having the particular informations of every ſeveral debate) could not give ſo clear a judgement as was requiſite in ſo important a buſineſſe; If therefore his Majeſty may have the engagement of the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councel, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as alſo thoſe in the *Scots* Army, for his Majeſties free and ſafe coming to, and abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, (with ſuch of His ſervants now attending Him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the ſpace of forty dayes, and after the ſaid time for His free and ſafe repair to any of His Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, or *Newark*, (which his Majeſty ſhall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Weſtminſter*) his Majeſty propounds to have a perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the reſtoring of peace and happineſſe to theſe miſerable diſtracted Kingdomes: And to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of his Majeſties earneſt and ſincere intentions of putting an end to theſe unnatural diſtractions, (knowing that point of ſecurity may prove the greateſt obſtacle to this moſt bleſſed work) his Majeſty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great truſt of the *Militia* of this Kingdom, for ſuch time, and with ſuch powers, as are expreſt in the paper delivered by his Majeſties Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, the ſixth of Febrnary

1. ſt, to theſe perſons following, *viz.* The Lord *Privy Seal*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſſe of *Hertford*, the Marqueſſe of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, M. *Denzil Hollis*, M. *Pierpoint*, M. *Hen. Bellaſis*, M. *Rich. Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, M. *John Aſhburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Hen. Vane jun.* M. *Rob. Wallop*, M. *Thomas Chichely*, M. *Oliver Cromwel*, M. *Philip Skippon*, ſuppoſing that theſe are perſons againſt whom there can be no juſt exception: But if this doth not ſatisfie, then His Majeſty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majeſty calls God and the World to witneſſe, of His ſincere intentions and real endeavours, for the compoſing and ſetling of theſe miſerable Diſtractions, which He doubts not, but by the bleſſing of God, will ſoon be put to a happy Concluſion, if this His Majeſties offer be accepted: Otherwiſe He leaves all the World to judge, who are the continuers of this unnatural war. And therefore He once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have ſo great a compaſſion on the bleeding and miſerable eſtate of your Country, That you joyn your moſt ſerious and hearty endeavours with His Majeſty, to put a happy and ſpeedy end to theſe preſent miſeries.

Given at the Court at *Oxford* the 26 of Decem. 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

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16.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage in purſuance of the former, for a Perſonal Treaty at* Weſtminſter, *Decemb.* 29. 1645. Oxf.

*C. R.*

ALthough the Meſſage ſent by Sir *Peter Killegrew*, may juſtly require an expoſtulatory Anſwer, yet His Majeſty layes that aſide, as not ſo proper for His preſent endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether His propoſition for a perſonal Treaty, or the flat denial of a ſafe conduct for perſons to begin a Treaty, be greater ſignes of a real intention to peace; and ſhall now onely inſiſt upon His former Meſſage of the 26 of this December. That upon His repair to Weſtminſter, He doubts not but ſo to joyn His endeavours with His two Houſes of Parliament, as to give juſt ſatisfaction, not onely concerning the buſineſſe of *Ireland*, but alſo for the ſetling of a way for the payment of the publick debts, as well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, as others. And as already He hath ſhewn a fair way for the ſetling of the *Militia*; ſo He ſhall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none ſhall have cauſe to complain for want of ſecurity, whereby juſt Jealouſies may ariſe to hinder the continuance of the deſired peace. And certainly this propoſition of a perſonal Treaty could never have entred into His Majeſties thoughts, if He had not reſolved to make apparant to all the World, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to Him then the reſpect of any particular intereſt. Wherefore none can oppoſe [illegible] motion, without a manifeſt demonſtration, that [illegible] particularly envies His Majeſty ſhould be the chief

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Author in ſo bleſſed a work, beſides the declaring Himſelf a direct oppoſer of the happy peace of theſe Nations. To conclude, whoſoever will not be aſhamed, that His fair and ſpecious proteſtations ſhould be brought to a true and publick teſt; and thoſe who have a real ſenſe, and do truly commiſerate the miſeries of their bleeding Countrey, let them ſpeedily and cheerfully embrace his Majeſties propoſition for His perſonal Treaty at *Weſtminſter*, which, by the bleſſing of God, will undoubtedly to theſe now diſtracted Kingdoms, reſtore the happineſſe of a long wiſht for, and laſting peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29 day of December. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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17.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage of January* 15. 1645. *in purſuance of the former, containing His* Majeſties *Conceſſions and Offers.*

Oxford.

C. R.

BUt that theſe are times, wherein nothing is ſtrange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what ſhould cauſe this unparallel'd long detention of his Majeſties Trumpet, ſent with His gracious Meſſage of the 26 of December laſt: peace being the onely Subject of it, and his Majeſties [illegible] Treaty, the means propoſed for it. And it we[illegible]

moſt as great a wonder, that his Majeſty ſhould be ſo long from enquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof, had not, in ſome meaſure ſatisfied His impatience: But leſt his Majeſty by His long ſilence, ſhould condemn himſelf of careleſſeneſſe in that, which ſo much concerns the good of all His people, He thinks it high time to enquire after His ſaid Trumpeter: For ſince all men who pretend any goodneſſe, muſt deſire peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the beſt and moſt Chriſtian way to procure it, and there being as little queſtion, that His Majeſties perſonal preſence in it, is the likelieſt way to bring it to a happy Iſſue; He judges there muſt be ſome ſtrange variety of accidents, which cauſeth this moſt tedious delay; wherefore his Majeſty earneſtly deſires to have a ſpeedy account of His former Meſſage, the Subject whereof is peace, and the means His perſonal preſence at *Weſtminſter*, where the government of the Church being ſetled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and full liberty for the eaſe of their Conſciences, who will not communicate in that ſervice eſtabliſhed by Law; and likewiſe for the free and publick uſe of the *Directory* (preſcribed, and by command of the two Houſes of Parliament, now practiſed in ſome parts of the City of *London*) to ſuch as ſhall deſire to uſe the ſame, and all forces being agreed to bee diſbanded; his Majeſty will then forthwith (as He hath in His Meſſage of the twenty ninth of December laſt; already offered) joyn with His two Houſes of Parliament, in ſetling ſome way for the payment of the publick Debts to His *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others: And his Majeſty having propoſed a fair way, for the ſetling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay ſeems not to be thought ſufficient ſecurity: His Majeſty (to ſhew how really He will imploy Him- at His coming to *Weſtminſter*) for making this

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a laſting peace, and taking away all jealouſies (how groundleſſe ſoever) will endeavour upon debate with His two Houſes, ſo to diſpoſe of it (as likewiſe of the buſineſſe of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms juſt ſatisfaction; not doubting alſo, but to give good contentment to His two Houſes of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the officers of State, and others, if his two Houſes, by their ready inclinations to peace ſhall give Him encouragement thereunto. Thus His Majeſty having taken occaſion by his juſt impatience ſo to explain his intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy iſſue to this ſucceeding Treaty: If now there ſhall be ſo much as a delay of the ſame, He calls God and the World to witneſſe, who they are, that not onely hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happineſſe, It being ſo much the ſtranger, that his Majeſties coming to Weſtminſter, (which was firſt the greateſt pretence for taking up Arms) ſhould be ſo much as delayed, much leſſe not accepted or refuſed; but his Majeſty hopes, that God will no longer ſuffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of January, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *To be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

## 18.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Jan.* 17. 1645. *for an anſwer to His former Meſſages.* Oxford.

*C. R.*

HIs Majeſty thinks not fit now to anſwer thoſe aſperſions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to Weſtminſter for a perſonal Treaty, becauſe it would inforce a ſtyle not ſuitable to His end, it being the peace of thoſe miſerable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but ſay to thoſe who have ſent Him this anſwer, that if they had conſidered what they have done themſelves in occaſioning the ſhedding of ſo much innocent blood, by withdrawing themſelves from their duty to Him, in a time when He had granted ſo much to His Subjects, and in violating the known laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themſelves over their fellow Subjects, (to ſay no more to do as they have done) they could not have given ſuch a falſe character of his Majeſties actions. Wherefore his Majeſty muſt now remember them, that having ſome houres before His receiving of their laſt paper of the 13 of January, ſent another Meſſage to them of the 15: wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth Himſelf to ſhew the reality of his endeavors for peace by his deſired perſonal Treaty (w.h He ſtill conceives to be the likeleiſt way to attain to that bleſſed end) He thinks fit by this Meſſage to call for an Anſwer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rational man can think their laſt paper can be any anſwer to His former demands, the ſcope of it being, that becauſe there is a war, therefore there ſhould be

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no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the propositions mentioned should bee the grounds of a lasting peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet He will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in general, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy answer to His last and former Messages.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford* this 17 of January, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

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19.

*His* Majesties *Message of* January 24 1645. *for answer to His former Message, and concerning their Reasons against a Personal Treaty:* Oxford.

*C. R.*

THe procuring peace to these Kingdomes by Treaty, is so much desired by His Majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour therein, untill He shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so far onely to make reply to that paper or Answer which He hath received of the thirteenth of this instant January, as may take away those objections which are made against his Majesties coming to *Westminster*, expecting still an Answer to His Messages of the fifteenth and seventeenth, which He hopes by this time have

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begotten better thoughts and reſolutions, in the Members of both Houſes. And firſt therefore, whereas in the ſaid laſt paper it is objected as an impediment to his Majeſties perſonal Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been ſhed in this war, by his Majeſties Commiſſions, &c. He will not now diſpute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been ſpilt) but rather preſſeth that there ſhould be no more: and (to that end onely) He hath deſired this perſonal Treaty, as judging it the moſt immediate means to aboliſh ſo many horrid confuſions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to ſay, That there ſhall be no ſuch perſonal Treaty, becauſe there have been Wars, it being a ſtrong inducement to have ſuch a Treaty to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there ſhould be no ſuch perſonal Treaty, becauſe ſome of His *Iriſh* Subjects have repaired to His aſſiſtance in it, ſeems an Argument altogether as ſtrange as the other; as alwayes urging that there ſhould be no phyſick, becauſe the party is ſick: And in this particular it hath been often obſerved unto them, that thoſe whom they call *Iriſh*, who have ſo expreſſed their loyalty to their Soveraign, were indeed (for the moſt part) ſuch Engliſh Proteſtants, as had been formerly ſent into *Ireland* by the two Houſes, impoſſibilitated to ſtay there any longer by the neglect of thoſe that ſent them thither, who ſhould there have better provided for them. And for any Forrain Forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies have ſwarmed with them, when his Majeſty hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alledged that the Prince is in the Head of an Army in the *Weſt*, and that there are divers Garriſons ſtill kept in his Majeſties obedience, and that there are Forces in *Scotland*; it muſt bee as much confeſſed, as that as yet there is no peace: and therefore it is deſired, that by ſuch a perſonal Treaty, all theſe impediments may be removed.

And

And it is not here amiſſe to put them in minde, how long ſince his Majeſty did preſſe a diſbanding of all forces on both ſides, the refuſing whereof, hath been the cauſe of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the propoſition for his Majeſties perſonal Treaty, thereupon inferring, that He ſhould again return to hoſtility, his Majeſty proteſteth that He ſeeks this Treaty to void future hoſtility, and to procure a laſting peace; and if He can meet with like inclinations to peace in thoſe He deſires to treat with, He will bring ſuch affections and reſolutions in Himſelf, as ſhall end all theſe unhappy bloody differences. As for thoſe engagements which his Majeſty hath deſired for his ſecurity, whoſoever ſhall call to minde the particular occaſions that enforced his Majeſty to leave His City of London and Weſtminſter, will judge His demand very reaſonable and neceſſary for His ſafety. But He no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councel, and *Militia* of London, were either ſubject or ſubordinate to that Authority which is alledged; as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, He believes it is more then can be parallell'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can his Majeſty underſtand how his Majeſties ſeeeking of a perſonal Security can be any breach of priviledge: it being likely to be infringed by hindering his Majeſty from coming freely to his two Houſes. As for the objection that his Majeſty omitted to mention the ſetling Religion, and ſecuring the peace of His Native Kingdom, his Majeſty declares, that He conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in His latter Meſſage of the 15 preſent. But, for their better ſatisfaction, He again expreſſeth that it was, and ever ſhall be, both His meaning and endeavour in this Treaty deſired; and it ſeems to him [illegible] clear, that there is no way for a final ending of [illegible] diſ[illegible]tions

diſtractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conqueſt, the latter of which his Majeſty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wiſh for. And for the former, if His perſonal aſſiſtance in it be not the moſt likely way, let any reaſonable man judge: when by that means not onely all unneceſſary delayes will be removed, but even the greateſt difficulties made eaſie. And therefore He doth now again earneſtly inſiſt upon that propoſition expecting to have a better anſwer upon mature conſideration. And can it be imagined that any propoſitions will be ſo effectual, being formed before a perſonal Treaty, as ſuch as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both ſides? Wherefore his Majeſty, who is moſt concerned in the good of His people, and is moſt deſirous to reſtore peace and happineſſe to His three Kingdoms, doth again inſtantly deſire an Anſwer to His ſaid former Meſſages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

*Given at Our Court at* Oxon *the 24 of January* 1645.

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

---

*His*

20.

## *His* Majestie's *Message of January* 29. 1645. *about* Ireland, *and His* Majesties *further Concessions, and desire of a Personal Treaty:* Oxford.

*C. R.*

HIs Majesty having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councel in *Ireland*; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Romn Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties Honour and Royal Dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*: Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councel, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to His Majesties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a personal Treaty offered to give contentment to both Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath [illegible] thought fitting, the better to shew his clear [illegible]

ons, and to give ſatisfaction to his ſaid Houſes of Parliament, and the reſt of His Subjects in all His Kingdoms; to ſend this Declaration to His ſaid Houſes containing the whole truth of the buſineſſe, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raiſe Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into *England* for his Majeſties Service, had a Commiſſion to that purpoſe, and to that purpoſe onely.

That he had no Commiſſion at all to Treat of any thing elſe, without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much leſſe to Capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety, belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants proceedings with the ſaid Earl, That he had no notice at all of what the ſaid Earl had Treated and pretended to have capitulated with the *Iriſh*, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his Majeſty doth proteſt, That untill ſuch time as He had advertiſement, that the perſon of the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* was arreſted and reſtrained, as is aboveſaid, He never heard, nor had any kinde of notice, that the ſaid Earl had entred into any kinde of Treaty or Capitulation with thoſe *Iriſh* Commiſſioners; much leſſe, that He had concluded or ſigned thoſe Articles ſo deſtructive both to Church and State, and ſo repugnant to His Majeſties publick profeſſions, and known Reſolutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majeſties honour and integrity herein, He doth declare, That He is ſo far from conſidering any thing contained in thoſe papers or Writings framed by the ſaid Earle, and thoſe Commiſſioners with whom he [illegible]ted, as He doth abſolutely diſavow him therein,

and

and hath given commandment to the Lo. Lieutenant, and the Councel there, to proceed againſt the ſaid Earl, as one, who either out of falſeneſſe, preſumption, or folly, hath ſo hazarded the blemiſhing of His Majeſties Reputation, with His good Subjects, and ſo impertinently framed thoſe Articles of his own head, without the conſent, privity, or directions of his Majeſty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majeſties Councel there. But true it is, that for the neceſſary preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, whoſe caſe was daily repreſented unto Him to be ſo deſperate, his Majeſty had given Commiſſion to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude ſuch a peace there, as might be for the ſafety of that Crown, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and no way derogatory to His own honour and publick profeſſions.

But to the end, that His Majeſties real intentions in this buſineſſe of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly underſtood, and to give more ample ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, eſpecially concerning His Majeſties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there: He doth deſire, if the two Houſes ſhall reſolve to admit of His Majeſties repair to *London*, for a perſonal Treaty, (as was formerly propoſed) that ſpeedy notice be given thereof to His Majeſty, and a paſſe or ſafe conduct, with a blank ſent for a Meſſenger to be immediatly diſpatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder His Majeſties reſolution of leaving the managing of the buſineſſe of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houſes, and to make no peace there, but with their conſent, which in caſe it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſſe His endeavours in the Treaty with ſucceſſe, his Majeſty doth hereby engage Himſelf to do.

And for a further explanation of His Majeſti[illegible] tentions in His former Meſſages, He doth no[illegible]

clare, That if His perſonal repair to *London*, as aforeſaid, ſhall be admitted, and a peace thereon ſhall enſue, He will then leave the nomination of the perſons to be inruſted with the *Militia*, wholly to His two Houſes, with ſuch power and limitations as are expreſſed in the paper delivered by His Majeſties Commiſſioners, at *Uxbridge* the ſixth of February, 1644. for the term of ſeven years, as hath been deſired, to be given immediately after the concluſion of the peace, the diſbanding of all Forces on both ſides, and the diſmantling of the Garriſons erected ſince theſe preſent troubles, ſo as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the *Militia* ſhall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further ſecurity, his Majeſty (the peace ſucceeding) will be content, that *pro hâc vice*, the two Houſes ſhall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quâm diu ſe bene geſſerint*, which ſhall be beſt liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houſes of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion; His Majeſty doth further declare, That by the liberty offered in His Meſſage of the 15 preſent, for the eaſe of their Conſciences who will not communicate in the ſervice already eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom; He intends that all other Proteſtants behaving themſelves peaceably in and towards the Civil Government, ſhall have the free exerciſe of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all Fears and Jealouſies, his Majeſty is willing to agree, That upon the concluſion of peace, there ſhall be a generall Act of Oblivion and free pardon paſt by Act of Parliament in both His Kingdoms reſpectively.

And leſt it ſhould be imagined that in the making of theſe propoſitions, his Majeſties Kingdom of *Scotland* and His Subjects there have been forgotten

or

or neglected, his Majeſty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State and Judges, ſhall likewiſe extend to his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now his Majeſty having ſo fully and clearly expreſſed his Intentions and deſires of making a happy and well-grounded peace, if any perſon ſhall decline that happineſſe by oppoſing of ſo apparent a way of attaining it, he will ſufficiently demonſtrate to all the World his intention and deſigne can bee no other, then the totall ſubverſion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom under which the Engliſh Nation hath ſo long flouriſhed.

*Given at Our Court at* Oxon *the* 24 *of* January 1645.

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter; and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

21.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage for an anſwer to His laſt. February* 26. 1645. Oxford.

*C. R.*

HIs Majeſty needs to make no excuſe, though He ſent no more Meſſages unto you: for he very well knows He ought not to do it, if He either ſtood upon punctilio's of Honour, or his own private intereſt; the one being already call'd in queſtion by His often ſending; and the other aſſuredly prejudg'd if a peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many of His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto Him, to the preſervation of His people, his Majeſty paſſeth by many ſcruples, neglects, and delayes, and once more deſires you to give him a ſpeedy anſwer to His laſt Meſſage; for his Majeſty believes it doth very well become Him (after this very long delay) at laſt to utter His impatience, ſince that the goods and blood of his Subjects cries ſo much for peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 26 day of December. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

22.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage for His coming to* London, *upon the faith of the two Houſes, March* 23. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithſtanding the unexpected ſilence in ſtead of anſwer to his Majeſties many and gracious Meſſages to both Houſes, whereby it may appear, that they deſire to obtain their ends by force, rather then Treaty, which may juſtly diſcourage his Majeſty from any more overtures of that kinde, yet his Majeſty conceives He ſhall be much wanting to His duty to God, and in what He oweth to the ſafety of His people, if He ſhould not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwiſe hinder a ſafe and well-grounded peace. His Majeſty therefore now propoſeth, that, ſo He may have the faith of both Houſes of Parliament for the preſervation of His Honour, perſon, and eſtate; and that liberty be given to all thoſe who do and have adhered to his Majeſty to go to their own houſes, and there to live peaceably enjoying their eſtates, all Sequeſtrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Lawes of the Kingdom, or being put to any other moleſtation whatſoever, He will immediately diſband all His Forces, and diſmantle all His Garriſons, and being accompanied with His Royal, not His Martial Attendance, return to His two Houſes of Parliament, and there reſide with them. And for the better ſecurity of all his Majeſties Subjects, He propoſeth that

that He with His ſaid two Houſes immediatly upon His coming to *Weſtminſter* will paſſe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where his Majeſty will further do whatſoever they will adviſe Him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majeſty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great loſſe of time which muſt now bee ſpent in expecting an anſwer from thence, but declares that, immediatly upon His coming to *Weſtminſter*, He will apply Himſelf to give them all ſatisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majeſty could poſſibly doubt the ſucceſſe of this offer, He could uſe many arguments to perſwade them to it; but ſhall onely inſiſt on that great One of giving an inſtant peace to theſe afflicted Kingdoms.

*Given at Our Court at* Oxford, *the* 23 *of March* 1645.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to bee communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter.*

23.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of May* 18. 1646. *from* Southwel. *Containing His further Conceſſions for the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

HIs Majeſty having underſtood from both his Houſes of Parliament, that it was not ſafe for Him to come to *London* (whither he had purpoſed to repair, if ſo He might, by their advice to do whatever may be beſt for the good and peace of theſe Kingdoms) until He ſhall firſt give His conſent to ſuch Propoſitions, as were to be preſented to Him from them: And being certainly enformed that the Armies were marching ſo faſt up to *Oxford*, and made that no fit place for treating, did reſolve to withdraw himſelf thither, onely to ſecure his own perſon, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any diviſion between His two Kingdoms, but to give ſuch contentment to both, as, by the bleſſing of God, He might ſee a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring proſperity to theſe Kingdoms, anſwerable to the beſt times of his Progenitors.

And ſince the ſetling of Religion ought to be the chiefeſt care of all Councels, his Majeſty moſt earneſtly and heartily recommends to His two Houſes of Parliament all the wayes and means poſſible, for ſpeedy finiſhing this pious and neceſſary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms aſſembled at Weſtminſter. Likewiſe concerning the *Militia* of *England*, for ſecuring his people againſt all pretentions of danger, his Majeſty is pleaſed to have it ſetled as was offered at the

Treaty

Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the perſons being to be named for the Truſt by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, for the ſpace of ſeven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as ſhall be agreed upon by his Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the wars in *Ireland*, his Majeſty will do whatſoever is poſſible for Him, to give full ſatisfaction therein.

And if theſe be not ſatisfactory, his Majeſty then deſires that all ſuch of the propoſitions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be ſpeedily ſent unto Him; his Majeſty being reſolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that ſhall be for the happineſſe of His Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced ſo many ſad effects.

His Majeſty having made theſe offers, he will neither queſtion the thankful acceptation of them; nor doth He doubt but that His two Kingdoms will be careful to maintain Him in his honour, and in his juſt and lawful Rights, which is the onely way to make a happy compoſure of theſe unnatural Diviſions. And likewiſe will think upon a ſolid way of conſerving the peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come. And will take a ſpeedy courſe for eaſing & quieting his afflicted people by ſatisfying the publick debts, by diſbanding of all Armies, and whatſoever elſe ſhall be judged conducible to that end: that ſo, all hinderances being removed, he may return to his Parliament with mutual comfort.

*Southwel May* 18. 1646.



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## POST-SCRIPT.

*His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence His real intentions to peace, is willing that His Forces in, and about* Oxford *be disbanded, and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.*

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *To be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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### 24.

*His* Majesties *Message from* Newcastle *June* 10. 1646. *For Propositions of Peace, and a personal Treaty at* London, *with His Letter to the Governours of all His Garrisons.*

*C. R.*

HIs Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His people in His three Kingdoms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition, through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying the publick debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnatural War

in

in any of theſe Kingdoms, or by renting and dividing theſe Kingdoms ſo happily united: And having ſent a gracious Meſſage unto both Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expreſſing the neceſſary cauſes of His coming from *Oxford* unto the *Scottiſh* Army, (without any intention to make a Diviſion, where He is in freedom and right Capacity to ſettle a true peace) & containing ſuch offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a general clauſe of complying with their deſires; And being impatient of delayes, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them, his Majeſty doth earneſtly deſire, That the Propoſitions of peace ſo often promiſed, and ſo much expected, may be ſpeedily ſent unto Him, That upon conſideration of them, He may apply himſelf to give ſuch ſatisfaction, as may be the foundation of a firm peace. And for the better and more ſpeedy attaining thereunto, his Majeſty doth further propound, That He may come to *London* with Safety, Freedom, and Honour, where He reſolves to comply with His Houſes of Parliament in every thing which may be moſt for the good of His Subjects, and perfect what remains for ſetling both Kingdoms and people in a happy condition; being likewiſe moſt confident, That they according to their reiterated Declarations, and ſolemne Proteſtations, will be zealous in the maintenance of his Honour, & juſt and lawfull Rights. And his Majeſty deſires the Houſes of Parliament, To diſburden the Kingdom of all Forces and Garriſons in their power, except ſuch as before theſe unhappy Times have been maintain'd for the neceſſary defence and ſafety of this Kingdom; So He is willing forthwith to diſband all His Forces and Garriſons within the ſame, as the incloſed order herewith ſent will evidence. And if upon theſe offers his Majeſty ſhall have ſuch ſatisfaction as Hee may bee confident a firm peace ſhall enſue

thereon, his Majeſty will then give order for his Son the Prince his preſent return.

*Newcaſtle, the tenth of June* 1646.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of* England *at* Weſtminſter, *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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*Charls R.*

HAving reſolved to comply with the deſires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unaſſayed for removing all differences amongſt Us; Therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of ſetling a happy and firm peace, to require you, upon honourable terms to quit thoſe Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, intruſted to you by Us, and to diſband all the Forces under your ſeveral commands.

*Newcaſtle, the tenth of June* 1646.

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved
- Sir *Thomas Glenham.*
- Sir *Thomas Tildeſly.*
- Col. *H. Waſhington.*
- Col. *Thomas Blagg.*

Governours of Our Cities and Towns of *Oxford*, *Lichfield*, *Worceſter*, and *Wallingford.*

And all other Commanders of any Towns, Caſtles, and Forts in Our Kingdom of *England.*

*His*

25.

## *His* Maj. ſties *Meſſage of Auguſt* 1. 1646. *from* Newcaſtle, *for a perſonal Treaty, at or near* London, *upon the Propoſitions ſent to Him.*

*C. R.*

THe Propoſitions tendered to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners from the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many moneths for deliberation, as they have aſſigned dayes for his Majeſties Anſwer) do import ſo great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer before a full debate, wherein theſe propoſitions and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe & reaſons thereof be rightly weighed and underſtood; and that his Majeſty upon a full view of the whole propoſitions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which He findes (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſſioners) that they are ſo bound up from any capacity, either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch deſires as his Majeſty is to propound, as it is impoſſible for Him to give ſuch a preſent judgement of, and anſwer to theſe propoſitions, whereby He can anſwer to God that a ſafe and well-grounded peace will enſue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unleſſe the juſt power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the juſt liberty & priviledges of the Parliament bee likewiſe ſetled) To which

end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of His houses thereabouts upon the publick faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, That He shal be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by His personal presence He may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have these doubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto him, which He now conceives to be destructive to His just regal power, if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that He may make known to them, such His reasonable demands as He is most assured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men desire & pray for, by the setling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them that as he can never condiscend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all such bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and peace of His people, not having regard to His own particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably setled.

*Newcastle, August* 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

# POST-SCRIPT.

*Upon aſſurance of a happy agreement, his Majeſty will immediately ſend for the Prince His Son, abſolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.*

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore. *to be communicated, &c.*

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26.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage from Newcaſtle, Auguſt* 10. 1646. *With a general Anſwer to the Propoſitions, and His deſire to treat at or near* London.

*C. R.*

THe Propoſitions tendered to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at Weſtm. and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many moneths for deliberation as they have aſſigned dayes for his Majeſties Anſwer) do import ſo great alterations in government both in the Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive anſwer before a full debate wherein the ſe Propoſitions and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe and reaſons thereof be rightly weighed and underſtood, and that his Majeſty upon a full view of the whole Propoſitions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which He findes (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſſioners, that

that they are ſo bound up from any capacity either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch deſires as his Majeſty is to propound, as it is impoſſible for Him to give ſuch a preſent judgment of, and anſwer to theſe propoſitions, whereby He can anſwer to God that a ſafe and well-grounded peace will enſue (which is evident to all the World can never be unleſſe the juſt power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the juſt liberty and priviledges of the Parliament bee likewiſe ſetled) To which end his Majeſty deſires and propoſeth to come to *London*, or any of His Houſes thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament, & the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, that He ſhall be there with freedom, honour, and ſafety, where by His perſonal preſence He may not onely raiſe a mutual confidence betwixt Him and His people, but alſo have thoſe doubts cleared, and thoſe difficulties explained unto Him which He now conceives to be deſtructive to His juſt Regal power if He ſhall give a full conſent to theſe propoſitions as they now ſtand.

As likewiſe that He make known to them ſuch His reaſonable demands as Hee is moſt aſſured will bee very much conducible to that peace, which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſetling of Religion, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majeſty aſſures them that as He can never condiſcend unto what is abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt power, which by the Laws of God and the Land He is born unto. So He will cheerfully grant and give his aſſent unto all ſuch Bils, at the deſire of his two Houſes, or reaſonable demands for *Scotland* which ſhall be really for the good and peace of His people, not having regard to His own particular (much leſſe of any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the happineſſe of theſe Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majeſty conjures them as Chriſtians, as Subjects,

jects, and as men who deſire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will ſo receive and make uſe of this anſwer; that all iſſues of blood may bee ſtopped, and theſe unhappy diſtractions peaceably ſetled.

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore. to be communicated, &c.*

## POST-SCRIPT.

*Upon aſſurance of a happy agreement, his Majeſty will immediately ſend for the Prince His Son, abſolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.*

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27.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Decem.* 20. 1646. *from* Newcaſtle *for a perſonal Treaty, at or near* London, *upon the faith of the two Houſes.*

*C. R.*

HIs Majeſties thoughts being alwayes ſincerely bent to the peace of His Kingdomes, was and will bee ever deſirous to take all wayes which might the moſt clearly make appear the candour of His intentions to His people. And to this end, could finde no better way then to propoſe a perſonall free debate with His two Houſes of Parliament upon all the preſent differences. Yet finding very much againſt His expectations, that this offer was laid aſide, his Majeſty bent all His thoughts

to

to make His intentions fully known by a particular Anſwer to the Propoſitions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdomes, the 24 of *July* laſt. But the more He endeavoured it, He more plainly ſaw that any anſwer He could make would be ſubject to miſ-informations and miſ-conſtructions, which upon His own Paraphraſes and Explanations He is moſt confident will give ſo good ſatisfaction, as would doubtleſſe cauſe a happy and laſting peace. Leſt therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, His Majeſty again propoſeth, and deſires again to come to *London*, or any of His Houſes thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and ſecurity of His two Houſes of Parliament, and the Scotch Commiſſioners, that He ſhall be there with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: Where, by His perſonal preſence, He may not onely raiſe a mutual confidence betwixt Him and His people, but alſo have thoſe doubts cleared, and thoſe difficulties explained to Him, without which He cannot (but with the aforeſaid miſchievous inconveniencies) give a particular anſwer to the propoſitions: And with which He doubts not, but ſo to manifeſt His real intentions for the ſetling of Religion, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and property of the Subject, that it ſhall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the eſtabliſhing of that firm peace which all honeſt men deſire. Aſſuring them, as He will make no other demands but ſuch as He believes confidently to be juſt, and much conducing to the Tranquillity of the people: So He will be moſt willing to condeſcend to them in whatſoever ſhall be really for their good and happineſſe. Not doubting likewiſe but you will alſo have a due regard to maintain the juſt power of the Crown, according to your many Proteſtations and profeſſions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To

To conclude, 'tis your King who deſires to be heard, (the which, if refuſed to a Subject by a King, he would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profeſſe to deſire. Wherefore His Majeſty conjures you, as you deſire to ſhew your ſelves really what you profeſſe, even as you are good Chriſtians and Subjects, that you will accept this His offer, which He is confident God will ſo bleſſe, that it will be the readieſt means by which theſe Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terrour to their enemies.

*Newcaſtle* 20 *December* 1646.

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

28.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Febr.* 17. 1646. *from* Holmby. *Concerning His Chaplains.*

SInce I have never diſſembled, nor hid My Conſcience, and that I am not yet ſatisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you deſire My conſent, I will not yet loſe time in giving reaſons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by ſome of my Chaplains, whoſe opinions, as Clergymen, I eſteem and reverence; not onely for the exerciſe of My Conſcience, but alſo for clearing of My judgement concerning the preſent differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Mr. *Marſhal* and his *Fellow-Miniſter*: having ſhewed them, that it is the beſt and likelieſt means of giving Me ſatisfaction, which without it I cannot have in theſe times: Whereby the diſtractions of this Church may be the better ſetled. Wherefore I deſire that, at leaſt, two of theſe *Reverend Divines*, whoſe names I have here ſet down, may have free liberty to wait upon Me, for the diſcharging of their duty unto Me, according to their function.

*CHARLS R.*

*Holmby* 17 *Febr.* 1646.

| | |
|---|---|
| B. *London.* | D. *Sanderſon.* |
| B. *Salisbury.* | D. *Baily.* |
| B. *Peterborough.* | D. *Heywood.* |
| D. *Shelden*, Clerk of my Cloſet. | D. *Beale.* |
| | D. *Fuller.* |
| D. *Marſh*, Dean of York. | D. *Hammond.* |
| | D. *Taylor.* |

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *&c.*

*His*

29.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of March* 6. 1646, *from* Holmby *in purſuance of the former.*

*C. R.*

IT being now ſeventeen dayes ſince I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Anſwer to what I then deſired, I cannot but now again renew the ſame unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the neceſſary duty of a Chriſtian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My deſires. But My being attended with ſome of My Chaplains, whom I eſteem and reverence, is ſo neceſſary for Me, even conſidering My preſent condition, whether it be in relation to My conſcience, or a happy ſettlement of the preſent diſtractions in religion, that I will ſlight divers kinds of cenſures, rather then not to obtain what I demand; nor ſhall I do you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtaining of My wiſh, it being totally grounded upon Reaſon. For deſiring you to conſider (not thinking it needful to mention) the divers reaſons, which no Chriſtian can be ignorant of, for point of Conſcience, I muſt aſſure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in conſideration thoſe alterations

terations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without ſuch help as I deſire; becauſe I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, ſo long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promiſe you faithfully not to ſtrive for victory in Argument, but to ſeek and ſubmit to Truth (according to that judgement which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my beſt and greateſt conqueſt to give contentment to my two Houſes of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive, not to be againſt my conſcience or honour; not doubting likewiſe but that you will be ready to ſatisfie me in reaſonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

CHARLS R.

*Holdenby 6 March* 1646.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter.*

30.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage with His anſwer in particular to the Propoſitions, May* 12. 1647. Holmby.

C.R.

AS the dayly expectation of the coming of the Propoſitions hath made His Majeſty this long time to forbear giving His Anſwer unto them, ſo the appearance of their ſending being no more for any thing He can hear, then it was at His firſt coming hither, notwithſtanding that the Earl of *Louderdale* hath been at *London* above theſe ten dayes, (whoſe not coming was ſaid to be the onely ſtop) hath cauſed His Majeſty thus to anticipate their coming to Him, and yet conſidering His condition, that His Servants are denied acceſſe to Him, all but very few, and thoſe by appointment, not His own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commiſſioners, or ſuch who are particularly permitted by them, to converſe with His Majeſty, or that any Letters ſhould be given to, or received from Him, may He not truly ſay, that He is not in caſe fit to make Conceſſions, or give Anſwers, ſince He is not maſter of theſe ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free born man, how mean ſoever his birth be? And certainly he would ſtill be ſilent as to this ſubject, until His condition were much mended, did He not prefer ſuch a right underſtanding betwixt Him and His Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and laſting peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His own, or any earthly bleſſing: and there-

therefore his Majeſty hath diligently imployed His utmoſt endeavours for divers moneths paſt, ſo to inform His underſtanding, and ſatisfie His conſcience, that He might be able to give ſuch anſwers to the propoſitions, as would be moſt conformable to his Parliaments; but He ingeniouſly profeſſes, that notwithſtanding all the pains that Hee hath taken therein, the nature of ſome of them appears ſuch unto Him, that without diſclaiming that Reaſon which God hath given Him to judge by, for the good of Him and His people, and without putting the greateſt violence upon His own conſcience, He cannot give His conſent to al of them. Yet his Majeſty (that it may appear to all the World how deſirous He is to give full ſatisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expreſſe his readineſſe to grant what he may, and his willingneſſe to receive from them, and that perſonally if his two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* ſhall approve thereof, ſuch further Information in the reſt as may beſt convince his judgement, and ſatisfie thoſe doubts which are not yet clear unto Him, deſiring them alſo to conſider that if his Majeſty intended to winde himſelf out of theſe troubles by indirect means, were it not eaſie for Him now readily to conſent to what hath, or ſhall be propoſed unto Him; and afterwards chooſe His time to break all, alleaging, that forc'd Conceſſions are not to be kept? ſurely He might, and not incur a hard cenſure from indifferent men. But maximes in this kinde are not the guides of his Majeſties actions, for He freely and clearly avows, that He holds it unlawful for any man, and moſt baſe in a King to recede from His promiſes for having been obtained by force or under reſtraint; wherefore his Majeſty not onely rejecting thoſe acts which He eſteems unworthy of Him, but even paſſing by that which Hee might well inſiſt upon, a point of honour, in reſpect of His preſent condition, thus anſwers the firſt propoſition. That upon his Majeſties coming to *London*, He will heartily

joyn in all that ſhall concern the honour of his two Kingdoms, or the Aſſembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commiſsioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in thoſe things which are deſired in that propoſition, upon confidence that all of them reſpectively with the ſame tenderneſſe will look upon thoſe things which concern his Majeſties honour.

In anſwer to all the propoſitions concerning Religion, his Majeſty propoſeth, that He will confirm the Preſbyterial government, the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, and the Directory, for three yeers, being the time ſet down by the two Houſes, ſo that his Majeſty and his houſhold bee not hindered from that form of Gods ſervice which they formerly have: And alſo, that a free conſultation and debate be had with the Divines at Weſtminſter (twenty of his Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majeſty and the two Houſes how the Church ſhall be governed after the ſaid three yeers or ſooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, and deſires to reſpite his particular Anſwer thereunto until his coming to *London*, becauſe it being a matter of conſcience he cannot give a reſolution therein till he may be aſſiſted with the advice of ſome of his own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and ſuch other Divines as ſhall be moſt proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Proteſtant profeſſion, and the union of theſe two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the ſeventh and eighth propoſitions, his Majeſty will conſent. To the *ninth*, his Majeſty doubts not but to give good ſatisfaction when he ſhall be particularly informed how the ſaid penalties ſhall be levied and

and diſpoſed of. To the tenth, his Majeſties anſwer is, That He hath been alwayes ready to prevent the practices of Papiſts, and therefore is content to paſſe an Act of Parliament for that purpoſe: And alſo that the Laws againſt them be duly executed. His Majeſty will give His conſent to the Act for the due obſervation of the Lords day, for the ſuppreſſing of Innovations, and thoſe concerning the preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Reſidence and Pluralities, and his Majeſty will yeeld to ſuch Act or Acts as ſhall be requiſite to raiſe monies for the payment and ſatisfying all publick debts, expecting alſo that His will be therein included. As to the Propoſition touching the *Militia*, though his Majeſty cannot conſent unto it *in terminis* as it is propoſed, becauſe thereby He conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword entruſted to Him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once deveſting himſelf, and diſ-inheriting His poſterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the Kingly Office, and ſo weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and ſhadow of it will remain: yet if it be onely ſecurity for the preſervation of the peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is deſired, (which his Majeſty alwayes enderſtood to be the caſe, and hopes that herein He is not miſtaken) his Majeſty will give abundant ſatisfaction, to which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia*, both by Sea and Land for the ſpace of ten years be in the hands of ſuch perſons as the two Houſes ſhall nominate, giving them power during the ſaid term to change the ſaid perſons, and ſubſtitute others in their places at pleaſure, and afterwards to return to the proper chanel again, as it was in the times of

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of bleſſed memory. And now his Majeſty conjures His two Houſes of Parliament, as they are Engliſhmen and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his Majeſty their King, and by the bowels of compaſsion they have to their fellow ſubjects, that they will accept of this his Majeſties offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be reſtored to this languiſhing Kingdom. His Majeſty will grant the like to the Kingdom of *Scotland* if it be deſired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conſerving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) his Majeſty will give ſatisfaction therein. As to the mutual Declarations propoſed to be eſtabliſhed in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, And the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the Propoſitions, his Majeſty [illegible] profeſſes, that He doth not ſufficiently underſtand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this He well knoweth, That a general Act of Oblivion is the beſt bond of Peace; and that after inteſtine troubles, the wiſdom of this and other Kingdomes hath uſually and happily in all Ages granted general Pardons, whereby the numerous diſcontentments of many perſons and Families otherwiſe expoſed to ruine, might not become fewel to new diſorders, or ſeeds to future troubles. His Majeſty therefore deſires, that His two Houſes of Parliament would ſeriouſly deſcend into theſe conſiderations, and likewiſe tenderly look upon His condition herein, and the perpetual diſhonour that muſt cleave to Him, if He ſhall thus abandon ſo many perſons of Condition and Fortune that have engaged themſelves with and for Him, out of a ſenſe of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable teſtimony of their affection to Him, That a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith paſſed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new

great

great Seal, his Majeſty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this preſent time, ſo that it be not thereby preſſed to make void thoſe Acts of His done by vertue of His great Seal, which in honour and juſtice he is obliged to maintain: And that the future government thereof may be in his Majeſty, according to the due courſe of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19 Article, his Majeſty when he ſhall come to *Weſtminſter* will gratifie his Parliament all that poſſibly He may, without deſtroying the alterations which are neceſſary for the Crown. His Majeſty will willingly conſent to the Act for the confirmation of the priviledges and cuſtomes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propoſitions for their particular advantage. And now that his Majeſty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the deſires of his two Houſes of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and laſting, without the leaſt face or queſtion of reſtraint to blemiſh the ſame, his Majeſty earneſtly deſires preſently to be admitted to his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with that honour which is due to their Soveraign, there ſolemnly to confirm the ſame, and legally to paſſe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well ſatisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewiſe ſuch other pledges of mutual love, truſt, and confidence, as ſhall moſt concern the good of Him, and his people; upon which appy agreement, his Majeſty will diſpatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto. *Holmby, May* 12. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to bee communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter.*

## 31.

## *His Majeſties Meſſage with His Anſwer to the Propoſitions preſented to Him at* Hampton-Court. *September* 9. 1647.

Hampton-Court.

C.R.

HIs Majeſty cannot chuſe but be paſſionately ſenſible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great diſtractions, and ſtill languiſhing and unſetled ſtate of this Kingdom; and He cals God to witneſſe, and is willing to give teſtimony to all the World of His readineſſe to contribute His utmoſt endeavours for reſtoring it to a happy and flouriſhing condition. His Majeſty having peruſed the propoſitions now brought to Him, findes them the ſame in effect, which were offered to Him at *Newcaſtle*. To ſome of which as He could not then conſent without violation of His conſcience and Honour, So neither can He agree to others, now conceiving them in many reſpects more diſagreeable to the preſent condition of affairs, then when they were formerly preſented unto Him, as being deſtructive to the main principal intereſts of the Army, and of all thoſe, whoſe affections concur with them. And His Majeſty having ſeen the propoſals of the Army to the Commiſſioners from His two Houſes reſiding with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and ſecuring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the ſetling of a juſt and laſting peace. To which propoſals, as He conceives his two Houſes not to be ſtrangers; So He believes they will think with Him, that they much more conduce to the ſatisfaction of all intereſts, and may be a fitter founda-

tion for a laſting peace, then the propoſitions which at this time are tendred unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the beſt way in his judgement in order to a peace) that his two Houſes would inſtantly take into conſideration thoſe propoſals, upon which there may be a perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, and upon ſuch other propoſitions as his Majeſty ſhall make: hoping that the ſaid propoſals may be ſo moderated in the ſaid Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majeſties full conceſſion: Wherein he reſolves to give full ſatisfaction to His people, for whatſoever ſhall concern the ſetling of the Proteſtant profeſsion, with liberty to tender conſciences, and the ſecuring of the Laws, Liberties and properties of all His Subjects, and the juſt priviledges of Parliaments for the Future: and likewiſe by His preſent deportment in this Treaty, He will make the World clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majeſty will be well pleaſed (if it be thought fit) that Commiſſioners from the Army, (whoſe the propoſals are) may likewiſe be admitted. His Majeſty therefore conjures His two Houſes of Parliament, by the duty they owe to God, and his Majeſty their King, and by the bowels of compaſſion they have to their fellow-ſubjects, both for the relief of their preſent ſufferings, and to prevent future miſeries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majeſties offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be reſtored to this diſtreſſed Kingdom; And for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* mentioned in the propoſitions, his Majeſty will very willingly Treat upon thoſe particulars with the Scotch Commiſſioners; and doubts not, but to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to that His Kingdom.

*At* Hampton-Court *the 9 of September* 1647.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers*
pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

*His*

## 32:

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage left on His Table at* Hampton-Court, *Novem.* 11. 1647.

C. R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but eſpecially now is the common theam and deſire of all men; common reaſon ſhews, that Kings leſſe then any ſhould endure captivity. And yet I call God and the world to witneſſe, with what patience I have endured a tedious reſtraint: which ſo long as I had any hopes that this ſort of my ſuffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effuſion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not onely turn to my perſonal ruine, but likewiſe be of much more prejudice, then furtherance to the publick good; I thought I was bound as well by natural, as politicall obligations, to ſeek my ſafety, by retiring my ſelf for ſome time, from the publick view both of my friends and enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men, to judge, if I have not juſt cauſe to free my ſelf from the hands of thoſe who change their principles with their condition; and who are not aſhamed openly to intend the deſtruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice; and with whom, the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced then puniſhed: And as for their intentions to my perſon, their changing, and putting more ſtrict Guards upon me, with the diſcharging moſt of all thoſe ſervants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does ſufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement miſ-interpreted; for I ſhall earneſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſetling of a

ſafe and well-grounded peace, where even I am or ſhall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effuſion of more Chriſtian blood: for which, how many times have *I* deſired, preſt to be heard, and yet no ear given to Me? And can any reaſonable Man think, that (according to the ordinary courſe of affairs) there *can be a ſetled peace without it? Or that God will bleſſe thoſe, who refuſe to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay I muſt farther adde, that (beſides what concerns my ſelf) unleſſe all other chief intereſts, have not onely a hearing, but likewiſe juſt ſatisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, thoſe who have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I ſay there cannot (I ſpeak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a ſinful preſumption, in ſuch caſes, to expect or truſt to them) be a ſafe or laſting peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my perſonal ſecurity is the urgent cauſe of this my retirement; ſo I take God to witneſſe, that the publick peace is no leſſe before my eyes: and I can finde no better way to expreſſe this my profeſſion (I know not what a wiſer may do) then by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which ſhould extend to all the reſt of my Subjects) and that all their arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawful and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, Honour, and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and ſhew my ſelf really to be *Pater Patriæ.*

*Hampton-Court, Novemb.* 11. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore,&c.

*His*

33.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Novemb.* 17. 1647. *for a Perſonal Treaty, with His particular conceſſions. From the* Iſle of Wight.

*C. R.*

HIs Majeſty is confident that before this time, His two Houſes of Parliament have received the Meſſage which He left behinde Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have underſtood the reaſons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewiſe His conſtant endeavours, for the ſetling of a ſafe and well-grounded peace whereſoever He ſhould bee: And being now in a place, where He conceives Himſelf to be at much more freedom and ſecurity then formerly; He thinks it neceſſary (not onely for making good of His own profeſſions, but alſo for the ſpeedy procuring of a peace in theſe languiſhing and diſtreſſed Kingdoms) at this time to offer ſuch grounds to His two Houſes for that effect; which upon due examination of all Intereſts, may beſt conduce thereunto.

And becauſe Religion is the beſt and chiefeſt foundation of peace, His Majeſty will begin with that particular.

That for the aboliſhing Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. His Majeſty clearly profeſſeth, that He cannot give his conſent thereunto, both in relation as he is a Chriſtian, and a King: For the firſt, He avows that He is ſatisfied in his judgement, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apoſtles themſelves; and ever ſince their time, hath continued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the World, until this laſt century of years; and in this Church in all times of change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wiſdom of his Anceſtors, as the great preſerver of Doctrine, Diſcipline, and order in the ſervice of God. As a King at his Coronation, He hath not onely taken a ſolemn oath, to maintain this order, but his Majeſty and his Predeceſſours in their confirmations of the Great Charter, have inſeparably woven the right of the Church into the liberties of the reſt of the Subjects: and yet He is willing it be provided that the particular Biſhops perform the ſeveral duties of their callings, both by their perſonal reſidence and frequent Preachings in their Dioceſſes, as alſo that they exerciſe no act of juriſdiction or ordination, without the conſent of their Presbyters; And will conſent, that their powers in all things be ſo limited, that they be not grievous to tender conſciences: Wherefore, ſince his Majeſty is willing to give eaſe to the Conſciences of others, He ſees no reaſon why He alone, and thoſe of His judgement, ſhould be preſſed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majeſty conſent to the alienation of Church lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be a ſin of the higheſt Sacriledge; as alſo, that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curſe upon all ſuch profane violations, which his Majeſty is very unwilling to undergo: And beſides the matter of conſcience, his Majeſty believes it to be a prejudice to the publick good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renuing Leaſes at much eaſier

Rates,

Rates, then if thoſe poſſeſſions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the diſcouragement which it will be to all learning and induſtry, when ſuch eminent rewards ſhall be taken away which now lye open to the children of meaneſt perſons.

Yet his Majeſty conſidering the great preſent diſtempers concerning Church-diſcipline, and that the Preſbyterian government is now in practice, his Majeſty to eſchew confuſion as much as may be, and for the ſatisfaction of His two Houſes, is content that the ſaid government be legally permitted to ſtand, in the ſame condition it now is for three years; provided, that his Majeſty and thoſe of His judgement (or any other who cannot in conſcience ſubmit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Preſbyterial government, but have free practice of their own profeſſion, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free conſultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Weſtminſter* (twenty of his Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majeſty and the two Houſes, how the Church government after the ſaid time ſhall be ſetled, (or ſooner if differences may be agreed) as is moſt agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all thoſe who ſhall differ upon conſcientious grounds from that ſettlement; alwayes provided, that nothing aforeſaid be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the popiſh profeſſion, nor the exempting of any popiſh Recuſant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profeſſion of Atheiſm or Blaſphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, Nicene, and Athanaſian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Chriſtian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever ſince the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inſeparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation, and that which former Par-

liaments, as likewiſe this, hath acknowledged ſo to be; His Majeſty cannot ſo much wrong that truſt which the Laws of God and this Land hath annexed to the Crown for the protection and ſecurity of His people, as to diveſt Himſelf and Succeſſours of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His deſire to ſecure the performance of ſuch agreements as ſhall be made in order to a peace, his Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during His whole reign, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by His two Houſes of Parliament, or by ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, with powers limited for ſuppreſſing of forces within this Kingdom, to the diſturbance of the publick peace, and againſt forraign invaſion; and that they ſhall have power during His ſaid reign, to raiſe monies for the purpoſes aforeſaid; and that neither his Majeſty that now is, or any other (by any authority derived onely from Him) ſhall execute any of the ſaid powers during his Majeſties ſaid reign, but ſuch as ſhall act by the conſent and approbation of the two Houſes of Parliament: Nevertheleſſe his Majeſty intends that all Patents, Commiſſions, and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majeſties reign, all the power of the *Militia* ſhall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of bleſſed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the conſideration of the arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the eaſe of His people, his Majeſty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of His conſcience and Honour. Wherefore if His two Houſes ſhall conſent to remit unto Him ſuch benefit out of Sequeſtrations from *Michaelmas* laſt, and out of Compoſitions that ſhall be made before the concluding of the

the peace, and the arrears of ſuch as have been already made, the aſſiſtance of the Clergy, and the arrears of ſuch rents of His own Revenue as His two Houſes ſhall not have received before the concluding of the peace, his Majeſty will undertake within the ſpace of eighteen moneths, the payment of four hundred thouſand pounds for the ſatisfaction of the Army: And if thoſe means ſhall not be ſufficient, his Majeſty intends to give way to the ſale of Forreſt Lands for that purpoſe, this being the publick Debt which in his Majeſties judgement is firſt to be ſatisfied; and for other publick debts already contracted upon Church Lands or any other Ingagements, his Majeſty will give His conſent to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing of monies for payment thereof as both Houſes ſhall hereafter agree upon, ſo as they be equally laid, whereby His people (already too heavily burthened by theſe late diſtempers) may have no more preſſures upon them then this abſolute neceſſity requires: And for the further ſecuring of all fears, his Majeſty will conſent, that an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the diſpoſing of the great Offices of State, and naming of Privy Counſellours for the whole term of His raign by the two Houſes of Parliament, their Patents and Commiſſions being taken from his Majeſty, and after to return to the Crown, as is expreſt in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majeſty very well knowes the conſequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of His Subjects being Infants. Nevertheleſſe if the continuance thereof ſeem grievous to His Subjects, rather then He will fail on His part in giving ſatisfaction, He will conſent to an Act for taking of it away, ſo as a full recompence be ſetled upon his Majeſty and His Succeſſours in perpetuity, and that the arrears now due be reſerved unto Him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of theſe late diſtractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament for the ſuppreſſing and making null of all Oathes, Declarations and Proclamations againſt both or either Houſe of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings againſt any perſons for adhering unto them: And his Majeſty propoſeth, (as the beſt expedient to take away all ſeeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all his Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the ceſſation there is long ſince determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majeſty will give full ſatisfaction to His Houſes concerning that Kingdom.

And although his Majeſty cannot conſent in honour and juſtice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts paſt under His Great Seal ſince the two and twentith of May, 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants paſſed under that made by the two Houſes, yet his Majeſty is confident, that upon peruſal of particulars, He ſhall give full ſatisfaction to His two Houſes, to what may be reaſonably deſired in that particular.

And now his Majeſty conceives that by theſe His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the ſettlement of a peace) He hath clearly manifeſted His intentions to give full ſecurity and ſatisfaction to all Intereſts, for what can juſtly be deſired in order to the future happineſſe of His people. And for the perfecting of theſe Conceſſions, as alſo for ſuch other things as may be propoſed by the two Houſes, and for ſuch juſt and reaſonable demands as his Majeſty ſhall finde neceſſary to propoſe on His part, He earneſtly deſires a perſonal Treaty at *London* with his two Houſes, in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, it being in His judgement the moſt proper, and indeed, onely means to a firm and ſetled peace, and impoſſible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future miſunderſtandings.

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All theſe things being by Treaty perfected, his Majeſty believes His two Houſes will think it reaſonable, that the propoſals of the Army concerning the Succeſſion of Parliaments and their due elections, ſhould be taken into conſideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majeſty will very readily apply himſelf to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, when the deſires of the two Houſes of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commiſſioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, ſhall be made known unto Him.

*C. R.*

*From the* Iſle of Wight, *November* 17. 1647.

*To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

*His*

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Decemb.6.1647. for an anſwer to His laſt from* Carisbrook Caſtle.

*C. R.*

HAd his Majeſty thought it poſſible that His two Houſes could not be imployed in things of greater concernment then the peace of this miſerable diſtracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leiſure in acknowledging the receit of His Meſſage of the 15 of November laſt. But ſince there is not in nature, any conſideration preceding to that of peace, his Majeſties conſtant tenderneſſe of the welfare of His Subjects, hath ſuch a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement proſecution of a perſonal Treaty: which is, onely, ſo much the more deſired by his Majeſty, as it is ſuperiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majeſty conſiders the ſeveral complaints He daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, That Trade is ſo decayed, all commodities ſo dear, and Taxes ſo inſupportable, that even natural ſubſiſtance will ſuddenly fail. His Majeſty (to perform the truſt repoſed in Him) muſt uſe His uttermoſt endeavours for peace, though He were to have no ſhare in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majeſty done His part for it, by deveſting Himſelf of ſo much power and authority, as by His laſt Meſſage He hath promiſed to do, upon the concluding of the whole peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgement from His two Houſes, which this great grace and favour juſtly deſerves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of peace muſt fall ſomewhere elſe, then on his Majeſty.

To conclude, If ye will but conſider in how little time this neceſſary good work will be done, if you the two Houſes will wait on his Majeſty with the ſame reſolutions for peace, as He will meet you: He no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this His Majeſties earneſt deſire of a perſonal Treaty, and ſpeedily deſire His preſence amongſt you: Where all things

things agreed on being digeſted into Acts (till when, it is moſt unreaſonable for his Majeſty or His two Houſes to deſire, each of other the leaſt conceſſion) this Kingdom may at laſt enjoy the bleſſing of a long-wiſht for peace. *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, Dec. 6. 1647. *To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *&c.*

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35.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage and Anſwer to the* 4 *Bils, and the propoſitions preſented to Him at* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *before the Votes of* No Addreſſe. *Dec.* 28. 1647.

*C. R.*

THe neceſſity of complying with all engaged intereſts in theſe great diſtempers, for a perfect ſettlement of peace, his Majeſty findes to be none of the leaſt difficulties He hath met with ſince the time of His afflictions. Which is too viſible, when at the ſame time, that the two Houſes of the Engliſh Parliament do preſent to his Majeſty ſeveral Bils and Propoſitions for His conſent, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* do openly proteſt againſt them. So that were there nothing in the caſe, but the conſideration of that difference, his Majeſty cannot imagine how to give ſuch an anſwer to what is now propoſed, as thereby to promiſe Himſelf his great end, *A perfect peace.* And when his Majeſty further conſiders, how impoſſible it is (in the condition He now ſtands) to fulfil the deſires of the two Houſes; ſince the onely ancient and known wayes of paſſing Laws, are either by his Majeſties perſonal aſſent in the Houſe of Peers, or by Commiſſion under His great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at ſuch failings in the manner of addreſſe, which is now made unto Him. Unleſſe His two Houſes intend, that his Majeſty ſhall allow of a great Seal made without His authority, before there bee any conſideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the ſecurity it ſelf, ſo for the preſent, it ſeems very unreaſonable to his Majeſty.

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And though his Majeſty is willing to believe, that the intention of very many in both Houſes, in ſending theſe Bils before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a truſt from Him, and not to take any advantage by paſſing them to force other things from Him, which are either againſt His Conſcience or Honour: yet his Majeſty believes it clear to all underſtandings, that theſe Bils contain (as they are now penned) not onely the deveſting himſelf of all Soveraignty, and that without poſſibility of recovering it, either to Him or His Succeſſours, (except by repeal of thoſe Bils) but alſo the making His Conceſſions guilty of the greateſt preſſures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, ſo by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houſes for ever, to raiſe and levie forces, for Land or Sea ſervice, of what perſons (without diſtinction or quality) and to what numbers they pleaſe. And likewiſe for the payment of them, to leavy what monies, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means (and conſequently upon the eſtates of whatſoever perſons) they ſhall think fit and appoint. Which is utterly inconſiſtent with the liberty and property of the Subject, and his Majeſties truſt in protecting them. So that if the Major part of both Houſes, ſhall think it neceſſary to put the reſt of the propoſitions into Bils; his Majeſty leaves all the World to judge, how unſafe it would be for Him to conſent thereunto. And if not, what a ſtrange condition (after the paſſing of theſe four Bils) his Majeſty and all his Subjects would be caſt into. And here his Majeſty thinks it not unfit, to wiſh His two Houſes to conſider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majeſty deſires a perſonal Treaty with them for the ſetling of a peace; they in anſwer, propoſe the very ſubject matter of the moſt eſſential part thereof to be firſt granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to poſterity. Wherefore his Majeſty declares, That neither the deſire of being

freed

freed from this tedious and irkſome condition of life his Majeſty hath ſo long ſuffered, nor the apprehenſion of what may befall him, in caſe His two Houſes ſhall not afford Him a perſonal Treaty, ſhall make Him change His reſolution, of not conſenting to any Act, till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction in the particulars preſented to Him; but alſo to make good all other conceſſions mentioned in His Meſſage of the *16* of November laſt. Which he thought would have produced better effects, then what he findes in the Bils and propoſitions now preſented unto him.

And yet his Majeſty cannot give over, but now again earneſtly preſſeth for a perſonal Treaty (ſo paſſionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majeſty and all his Subjects) of which he will not at all diſpair, (there being no other viſible way to obtain a well-grounded-peace.) However his Majeſty is very much at eaſe within himſelf, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Chriſtian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleaſure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houſes to conſider their King, and to compaſſionate their fellow-Subjects miſeries.

*Given at* Cariſbrook-Caſtle *in the* Iſle of Wight, *Decemb.*28. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe* pro tempore, *To be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

His

## 36.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Auguſt* 10. 1648. *with His Anſwer to the Votes for a Treaty at the* Iſle of Wight.

*From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.].

C. R.

If the peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me, then any particular intereſt whatſoever; I had too much reaſon to take notice of the ſeveral Votes which paſſed againſt Me, and the ſad condition I have been in now above theſe ſeven moneths. But ſince you My two Houſes of Parliament have opened (as it ſeems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I ſhall heartily apply My ſelf thereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and ſhortly as I may, ſet you down thoſe things which I conceive neceſſary to this bleſſed work, ſo that We together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclu-

cluſion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulneſſe I do embrace.

And to this wiſhed end, your ſelves have laid moſt excellent grounds: for what can I reaſonably expect more, then to Treat with Honour, Freedome, and Safety, upon ſuch Propoſitions as you have or ſhall preſent unto Me, and ſuch as I ſhall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known: And that without means to perform, no Propoſition can take effect: And truly My preſent condition is ſuch, that I can no more Treat, then a blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet faſt tied together; wherefore My firſt neceſſary demand is,

That you will recall all ſuch Votes and Orders, by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or ſpeaking freely to Me.

Next, that ſuch men of all profeſſions, whom I ſhall ſend for, as of neceſſary uſe to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the ſame ſtate of freedom I was in when I was laſt at *Hampton-Court*. And indeed leſſe cannot in any reaſonable meaſure make good thoſe offers which you have made Me by your Votes; for how can I treat with Honour, ſo long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders againſt coming to ſpeak, or write to Me: And am I honourably treated, ſo long as there is none about Me (except a Barber who came now with the Commiſſioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, Or with Freedom, (until I may call ſuch unto Me of whoſe ſervices I ſhall have uſe in ſo great and difficult a work.) And for Safety (I ſpeak not of my Perſon, having no apprehenſion on that way) how can I judge to make a ſafe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without diſguiſe) the true preſent ſtate of all My Dominions,

and

and particularly of all thoſe whoſe Intereſts are ne-ceſſarily concerned in the peace of theſe Kingdoms: which leads Me naturally to the laſt neceſſary de-mand I ſhall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to ſend ſome perſons authorized by them to treat upon ſuch propoſitions, as they ſhall make for certainly the publick and neceſſary Intereſſe they have in this great ſettlement, is ſo clearly plain to all the World, that I believe no body will deny the ne-ceſſity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in Orde to a durable peace. Wherefore I will onely ſay, tha as I am King of both Nations, ſo I will yeeld to none in either Kingdom for being truly and zealouſly affected for the good and honour of both: my reſo-lution being never to be partial for either, to the pre-judice of the other.

Now as to the place (becauſe I conceive it to be rather a circumſtantial then real part of this Treaty. I ſhall not much inſiſt upon it) I name *Newport* in this Iſle, yet the fervent zeal I have that a ſpeedy end be put to theſe unhappy diſtractions, doth force Me earneſtly to deſire you to conſider what a great loſſe of time it will be to treat ſo far from the body of My two Houſes, when every ſmall debate (of which doubtleſſe there will be many) muſt be tranſ-mitted to Weſtminſter before it be concluded: And really I think (though to ſome it may ſeem a Para-dox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to ſettle, ſeeing me treat in or near *London*, then in this Iſle, becauſe ſo long as I am here, it will never be be-lieved by many, that I am really ſo free, as before this Treaty begin I expect to be: And ſo I leave and recommend this point to your ſerious conſidera-tion: And thus I have not onely fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have propoſed to Me by your Votes of the third of this moneth; but alſo given it

all

all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the neceſſary means, for the effectual performance thereof: All which are ſo neceſſarily implyed by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready complyance with Me herein: I have now no more to ſay, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Chriſtians, honeſt Men or good Patriots, that ye will make all the expedition poſſible to begin this happy work, by haſting down your Commiſſioners fully authorized and well inſtructed, and by enabling Me (as I have ſhewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace ſo to bleſſe our endeavours, that all My Dominions may ſpeedily enjoy a ſafe and well-grounded peace.

*Charls R.*

*For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe* pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England at Weſtminſter.*

*His*

37.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Auguſt* 28. 1648. *for ſome of His Councel and others to attend Him at the Treaty in the* Iſle of Wight. *From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

MY Lord, and Maſter Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25 of this moneth, with the Votes that you ſent Me, which though they are not ſo full as I could have wiſhed, for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet becauſe I conceive by what you have done, that I am in ſome meaſure fit to begin one (ſuch is My unceſſant and earneſt deſire, to give a peace to theſe My now diſtracted Kingdoms as I accept the Treaty;) and therefore deſire that ſuch five Lords, and ten Commons, as My two Houſes ſhall appoint, be ſpeedily ſent, fully authorized and inſtructed to treat with Me, not doubting, but what is now wanting, will at Our meeting upon debate bee fully ſupplyed, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but alſo of the conſummating of a ſafe and well-grounded peace.

*So I reſt, Your good Friend,*

*CHARLS R.*

*Here*

*Here incloſed is a Liſt of the names of ſuch perſons as I deſire.*

*Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber.* Duke Richmond, Marquis Hartford, Earl Lindſey, Earl Southampton. *Grooms of My Bed-chamber.* George Kirk, James Leviſton, Henry Murry, Jo. Aſhburnham, William Leg, Thomas Daviſe, *Barber.* *Pages of My back ſtairs.* Hugh Hin, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett. Rives *Yeoman of My Robes.* *Querries, with 4 or 5 of My footmen, as they finde fitteſt to wait.* *Sir* Edward Sydenham, Robert Terwit, Jo. Houſden. Miſtreſſe Wheeler, *Landreſſe, with ſuch Maids as ſhe ſhall chooſe.* Parſons, *A Groom of the preſence.* *Sir* Fulke Grevel, Captain Titus, Captain Burrowes, Mr. Creſſet, Hanſted, Abraham Douſet, Firebraſſe. *To wait as they did, or as I ſhall appoint them.* Biſhop of London, Biſhop of Sarum, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hamond, Doctor Oldſworth, Doctor Sanderſon, Doctor Turner, Doctor Heywood. *Lawyers.* Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Holborne, Mr. Jeſ. Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. James Vaughan. *Clerks and Writers.* Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whittaker. *To make ready the houſe for Treaty.* Peter Newton, Clem. Kinerſley.

I deſire in order to one of your Votes, that you would ſend Me a free paſſe for *Parſons*, one of the Grooms of My preſence Chamber to go into *Scotland*, that you would immediatly ſend him to Me, to receive the diſpatch thither.

*For the Earl of* Mancheſter, *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthal, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

*His*

## 38.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage concerning the time of the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civil Law to attend His* Majeſty. *Sept.* 7. 1648. *Carisbrook-Caſtle.*

*My Lord, and Mr. Speaker,*

I Have received your Letter of the ſecond of this moneth, containing the names of thoſe who are to treat with Me, and though they do not come at the time appointed, I ſhall not wonder at firſt, judging it too ſhort, in reſpect of My two Houſes, not of My ſelf, ſo that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew*, to tell you by word of mouth) and therefore it ſhall be far from Me to take exceptions for their having elapſed the appointed time, for God forbid that either My two Houſes or I ſhould carp at circumſtances, to give the leaſt impediment to this Treaty, much leſſe to hinder the happy finiſhing of it: I ſay this the rather, becauſe I know not how it is poſſible (in this I ſhall wiſh to be deceived) that in forty dayes Treaty, the many diſtractions of theſe Kingdoms can be ſetled; and if ſo, it were more then ſtrange, that time enough ſhould not be given for the perfecting of this moſt great and good work, which as I will not believe can be ſtuck on by the two Houſes, ſo I am ſure it ſhall never be, by

Your good Friend,

*Carisbrook 7. Sept.* 1648.

*Charls R.*

I think fit to tell you, becauſe I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have ſent for my Advocate *Rives* and D. *Duck*.

*For the Lord* Hunſdon *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthal *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

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39.

*His* Majeſties *Meſſage for four Biſhops and two Doctors of Divinity to attend His Majeſty, Novemb.* 2. 1648. Newport.

*The names of the Biſhops and Doctors deſired by His Majeſty to be ſent to Him, Nov.* 2. 1648. *encloſed in a Letter from one of the Commiſſioners for the Parliament.*

*C. R.*

THe Biſhop of *Armath*, the Biſhop of *Exeter*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Fearne*, Dr. *Morley*.

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40.

## *His* Majeſties *Meſſage of Septemb.*29.1648. *containing His Conceſſions.* Newport.

HIs Majeſty did uſe many earneſt endeavours for a perſonal Treaty, which He hoped might have been obtained at Weſtminſter, between Him and His two Houſes of Parliament immediatly; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commiſſioners, his Majeſty did gladly and cheerfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a Treaty for a peace, which might put an end to His own ſad condition, and the miſeries of His Kingdom: For an entrance whereunto, his Majeſty hath already expreſſed His conſent to the firſt Propoſition: But finding you are limited by Inſtructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto Him: And having cauſe by your paper of the 20 of this preſent to believe, that you have no power to omit or alter any thing, though He ſhall give you ſuch reaſons as may ſatisfie you ſo to do, without tranſmitting the papers to the two Houſes at a far diſtance, where his Majeſties reaſons, expreſſions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully repreſented, and from whence their anſwers cannot be returned without much waſte of the time allotted for the Treaty here: And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it ſelf many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (11. or 12 in number) of great length, and ſome of them very new, and never before preſented to his Majeſty: The due conſideration whereof will take up much time, and require his Majeſties preſence with His two Houſes before a full reſolution can well be had in matters

matters of ſo high conſequence; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods bleſſing) proceed more ſpeedily and effectually to an happy concluſion; and that His two Houſes of Parliament may at preſent have further ſecurity, and an earneſt of future ſatisfaction: His Majeſty upon conſideration had of yours, makes theſe propoſitions following.

*Concerning the Church.*

HIs Majeſty will conſent that the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the Directory for the publick worſhip of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewiſe confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which ye have preſented to Him, to be uſed for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*; provided, that His Majeſty, and thoſe of His judgement, or any others who cannot in conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the ſame Government or form of worſhip, but have free practice of their own profeſſion. And that a free conſultation and debate be had with the Aſſembly of Divines of *Weſtminſter* in the mean time, (20 of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty & His two Houſes of Parliament how the ſaid Church Government and form of publick worſhip after the ſaid time may be ſetled, or ſooner, if differences may be agreed. And how alſo Reformation of Religion may be ſetled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Chriſtian Religion now delivered to Him may in like manner be then conſidered of & determined, and care taken for the eaſe of tender conſciences.

And concerning the Biſhops lands and revenues, His Majeſty conſidering that during theſe troubleſome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchaſes, and divers have diſburſed great ſums of monies upon ſecurity and engagement of thoſe Lands; His Majeſty for their ſatisfaction, will conſent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal eſtates for lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99 years ſhall be made of thoſe lands towards the ſatisfaction of the ſaid Purchaſers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or ſome other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive ſatisfaction.

And in caſe ſuch Leaſe ſhall not ſatisfie, his Majeſty will propound and conſent to ſome other way, for their further ſatisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of thoſe Lands may ſtill remain and continue to the Church and Church-men reſpectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the rent that ſhall be reſerved to be for their maintenance.

His Majeſty will give His Royal aſſent for the better obſervation of the Lords-day; For ſuppreſſing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the worſhip of God, and for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom. And to an Act againſt enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual perſons, and Nonreſidency. And to an Act for regulating and reforming both Univerſities, and the Colledges of *Weſtminſter*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act for the better diſcovery and ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, as is deſired in your propoſitions; And alſo to an Act for the education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

As alſo to an Act for the true levying of the penal-

ties

ties againſt Papiſts, to be levied and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, and as is propoſed on His Majeſties behalf.

And alſo to an Act to prevent the practiſes of Papiſts againſt the State. And for putting the Laws in execution. And for a ſtricter courſe to prevent hearing and ſaying of Maſſe.

But, as to the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, that He can either ſigne or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe it on the conſciences of others. Nor doth conceive it proper or uſeful at this time to be inſiſted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Majeſty conceives that your propoſition demands a far larger power over the perſons and eſtates of His Subjects, then hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; yet conſidering the preſent diſtractions require more, and truſting in His two Houſes of Parliament that they will make no further uſe of the power therein mentioned, after the preſent diſtempers ſetled, then ſhall be agreeable to the legal exerciſe thereof in times paſt, or juſt neceſſity ſhall require, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament.

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint during the ſpace of ten years, ſhall arm, train, and diſcipline, or cauſe to be armed, trained, or diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea & Land ſervices; and ſhall from time to time during the ſpace of ten years raiſe, levy, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined any other forces for land and Sea ſervice in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places aforeſaid, as in their judgements they ſhall from time to

time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years think fit to appoint, and that neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſours, or any other but ſuch as ſhall act by the authority, or approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall during the ſaid ſpace of ten years exerciſe any of the powers aforeſaid.

That monies be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea ſervice, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea ſervice ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied; and alſo the Admiralty and Navy ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years be imployed, managed, ordered and diſpoſed by the Lords and Commons in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

And the ſaid Lords and Commons, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years ſhall ſhall have power.

TO ſuppreſſe all Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſſe any Forraign Forces who ſhall invade, or indeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the ſaid ten years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the

the King, His Heirs or Succeſſours, or any of them, ſhall without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, diſband, or diſpoſe any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*. Nor exerciſe any of the ſaid powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expreſſed to be during the ſpace of ten years in the ſaid Lords and Commons: Nor do any act, or any thing concerning the execution of the ſaid powers or authorities, or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained.

And with the ſame proviſo's for ſaving the ordinary legal power of officers of juſtice, not being Military Officers, as is ſet down in your propoſitions. And with a Declaration, That if any perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together, in a warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of thirty perſons, and ſhall not forthwith diſperſe themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe; then ſuch perſon or perſons not ſo diſperſing themſelves, ſhall be guilty, and incuf the pains of high Treaſon; being firſt declared guilty of ſuch offence, by the ſaid Lords & Commons: any Commiſſion under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithſtanding. And he or they that ſhall ſo offend herein, to be uncapable of any pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſours.

And likewiſe that it be provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City, in ſuch ſort as is mentioned in the ſaid propoſition.

*With theſe proviſos following to be inſerted in the ſaid Act.*

1. THat none be compelled to ſerve in the war a-gainſt their wils, but in caſe of coming in of ſtrange enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land Forces, other then for keeping up and maintenance of Forts, and Garriſons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this preſent Army, ſo long as it ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament, be exerciſed to no other purpoſes then for the ſuppreſſing of Forces raiſed or to be raiſed, without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, or for ſuppreſſing of any Forraign Forces which ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places aforeſaid.

And that the monies be raiſed by general and equal Taxations, ſaving that Tonnage and Poundage, and ſuch Impoſts as have been applyed to the Navy, be raiſed as hath been uſual.

And that all Patents, Commiſſions, and other Acts concerning the premiſes, be made and Acted in his Majeſties name by Warrant, ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

*If it ſhall be made ſatisfactory to His two Houſes to have the Militia, and powers thereupon depending, during the whole time of his Majeſties reign, rather then for the ſpace of ten years, His Majeſty gives them the election.*

TOuching *Ireland*, His Majeſty having in the two preceding propoſitions given His conſent concerning the Church, & the *Militia* there in all things, as in *England*: As to all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with His two Houſes, He will leave it to their determination, and give His conſent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expreſſed.

Touching publick debts, His Majeſty will give His conſent

conſent to ſuch an Act, for raiſing of monies by general and equal Taxations, for the payment and ſatisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall be audited and aſcertained by them, or ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, within the ſpace of twelve moneths, after the paſſing of an Act for the ſame.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act, that during the ſaid ſpace of ten years the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commiſſioners of the great Seal, or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* to continue *qu am diu ſe bene geſſerint*: And in the intervals of Parliament, by ſuch others as they ſhall authorize for that purpoſe.

His Majeſty will conſent that the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the ſpace of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common-Counſel aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon, and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament. And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the ſaid City ſhall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof, for Military ſervice, without their own free conſent.

That an Act be paſſed for granting and confirming the Charters, Cuſtomes, Liberties, and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any *Non uſer*, *Miſuſer*, or *Abuſer*.

And that during the ſaid ten years, the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Gouernour from time to time during the ſaid ſpace to be nominated, and removeable by the Common-counſel, as are deſired in your propoſitions.

His Majeſty having thus far expreſſed his conſent for the preſent ſatisfaction and ſecurity of His two Houſes of Parliament, and thoſe that have adhered unto them, touching your four firſt propoſitions, and other the particulars before ſpecified: As to all the reſt of your propoſitions delivered to him at *Hampton-Court*, (not referring to thoſe heads) and to that of the Court of Wards ſince delivered; as alſo to the remaining propoſitions concerning *Ireland*; His Majeſty deſires onely when he ſhall come to *Weſtminſter* perſonally to adviſe with His two Houſes, and to deliver his opinion, and the reaſons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of thoſe remaining propoſitions to the determination of His two Houſes, which ſhall prevail with Him for His conſent accordingly.

And His Majeſty doth (for His own particular) onely propoſe that He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Weſtminſter*, and be reſtored to a condition of abſolute freedom and ſafety, (a thing which He ſhall never deny to any of His Subjects,) and to the poſſeſſion of His Lands and Revenues; And that an Act of Oblivion, and Indemnity may paſſe, to extend to all perſons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by His two Houſes of Parliament, His Majeſty will be ready to make theſe His *Conceſſions binding*, by giving them the force of Laws by His Royal aſſent.

*His*

I.

## *His* Majeſties *Declaration to all His people Jan.* 18. 1647. *from* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *after the Votes of* No Addreſſe.

AM I thus laid aſide, and muſt I not ſpeak for My ſelf? No! I will ſpeak, and that to all My people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of My two Houſes of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addreſſes to, or receive Meſſages from Me,) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me, and My two Houſes? I know none elſe; for I am ſure, you it is, who will enjoy the happineſſe, or feel the miſery, of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who ſhould run faſteſt to ſerve you; without having a regard (at leaſt in the firſt place) to particular intereſts: And therefore I deſire you to conſider the ſtate I am, and have been in, this long time, and whether My actions have more tended to the publick, or My own particular good; for whoſoever will look upon Me barely as I am Man, without that liberty (which the meaneſt of My Subjects enjoyes) of going whither, and converſing with whom I will: As a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife & children; or laſtly, as a King, without the leaſt ſhew of authority or power, to protect My diſtreſſed Subjects; muſt conclude Me, not onely void of all natural Affection, but alſo to want common underſtanding; if I ſhould not moſt cheerfully embrace the readieſt way, to the ſettlement of theſe diſtracted Kingdoms: As alſo on the other ſide, do but conſider the form and draught of the Bils lately preſented unto Mee, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude,

that the ſame ſpirit which hath ſtill been able to fruſtrate all my ſincere and conſtant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerful influence on this Meſſage; for though I was ready to grant the ſubſtance, and comply with what they ſeem to deſire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my conſcience and honour, and betraying the truſt repoſed in me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houſes for ever, for the leavying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without limitation of quality, or limitation for money taxes: And if I could have paſſed them in terms; how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant before hand the moſt conſiderable part of the ſubject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the moſt potent party had nothing of moment left to aſk, and the other nothing more to give? So conſequently, how hopeleſſe of mutual complyance? Without which, a ſettlement is impoſſible: Beſides, if after my conceſſions, the two Houſes ſhould inſiſt on thoſe things, from which I cannot depart; how deſperate would the condition of theſe Kingdoms be, when the moſt proper and approved remedy ſhould become ineffectual? Being therefore fully reſolved that I could neither in conſcience, honour, or prudence, paſſe thoſe four Bils, I onely endeavour'd to make the Reaſons and Juſtice of my Denyal appear to all the World, as they do to me, intending to give as little diſſatisfaction to the two Houſes of Parliament, (without betraying my own cauſe) as the matter would bear: I was deſirous to give my anſwer, of the 28 of December laſt, to the Commiſſioners ſealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and ſometimes at the deſire of the Commiſſioners) chiefly, becauſe when my Meſſages or Anſwers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houſes; prejudicial interpretations were forced on them,

them, much differing, and ſometimes contrary to my meaning. For example, my anſwer from *Hampton-Court*, was accuſed of dividing the two Nations, becauſe I promiſed to give ſatisfaction to the *Scots*, in all things concerning that Kingdom: And this laſt ſuffers in a contrary ſenſe, by making me intend to intereſt *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) becauſe I took notice of the *Scots* Commiſſioners proteſting againſt the Bils and propoſitions, as contrary to the intereſts and engagements of the two Kingdoms: Indeed, if I had not mentioned their diſſent; an Objection, not without ſome probability, might have been made againſt me, both in reſpect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the Militia, and in ſeveral other Propoſitions; and my ſilence might, with ſome juſtice, have ſeemed to approve of it: But the Commiſſioners refuſing to receive my anſwer ſealed, I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governours honour, that no other uſe ſhould be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not bin ſeen) read and delivered it open unto them; Whereupon, what hath ſince paſſed, either by the Governour, in diſcharging moſt of my Servants, redoubling the Guards, and reſtraining me of my former liberty, (and all this, as himſelf confeſt, meerly out of his own diſlike of my anſwer, notwithſtanding his beforeſaid engagement) or afterwards, by the two Houſes, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Caſtle, I appeal to God and the World, whether my ſaid anſwer deſerved the reply of ſuch proceedings: beſides the unlawfulneſſe for Subjects to impriſon their King: That, by the permiſſion of Almighty God, I am reduced to this ſad condition, as I no way repine, ſo I am not without hope, but that the ſame God, will, in due time, convert theſe afflictions into my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear theſe croſſes with

patience,

patience and equality of minde: but by what means or occaſion I am come to this Relapſe in my affairs, I am utterly to ſeek, eſpecially when I conſider, that I have ſacrificed to my two Houſes of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but, what is much more dear to me then my Life, My Conſcience and Honour; deſiring nothing more then to perform it, in the moſt proper and natural way, A Perſonal Treatie. But that which makes me moſt at a loſſe, is the remembring my ſignal complyance with the Armie, and their intereſts; and of what importance my complyance was to them, and their often repeated Profeſſions and Ingagements, for my juſt Rights, in general, at *Newmarket* and *S. Albans*; and their particular explanation of thoſe generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Propoſals; which I had Reaſon to underſtand ſhould be the uttermoſt extremitie would be expected from me, and that, in ſome things therein, I ſhould be eaſed; (herein appealing to the Conſciences of ſome of the chiefeſt Officers in the Army, if what I have ſaid be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my profeſſions to them; I challenge them and the whole World to produce the leaſt colour of Reaſon. And now I would know, what is it that is deſired: Is it Peace? I have ſhewed the way (being both willing, and deſirous to perform my part in it) which is, a juſt complyance with all chief intereſts: Is it Plenty and Happineſſe? they are the inſeparable effects of peace: Is it Security? I, who wiſh that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for my Is it time: Liberty of Conſcience? He who wants it, is moſt ready to give it: Is it the right adminiſtration of Juſtice? Officers of truſt are commited to the choice of my two Houſes of Parliament: Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith: Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a ſettlement, they will certainly be payed with much eaſe; but before

fore, there will be found much difficuly, if not impoſſibility in it.

Thus all the World cannot but ſee my real and unwearied endeavours for peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I ſhall never repent me of, nor ever be ſlackned in, notwithſtanding my paſt, preſent, or future ſufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obſtructs the good I would, or might do: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be Reaſon, (at leaſt, none will declare themſelves ſo unreaſonable, as to confeſſe it) and it can leſſe be, impertinent or unreaſonable Diſcourſes; for thereby, peradventure I might more juſtifie this my Reſtraint, then the Cauſers themſelves can do; ſo that, of all wonders yet this is the greateſt to me: but it may be eaſily gathered how thoſe men intend to govern, who have uſed me thus: And if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I ſhall not bluſh for my ſelf, but much lament the future miſeries of my People; the which I ſhall ſtill pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of Me.

C. R.

2.

## *His* Majesties *Declaration, concerning the Treaty, and His dislike of the Armies proceedings, delivered by His* Majesty *to one of His Servants at His departure from the* Isle of Wight, *commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects.* Anno 1648.

WHen large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performances, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects: and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of tyranny and oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions then by a *personal Treaty*, being agreed upon by My two Houses of Parliament, and condescended to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to stile Me in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, *their capital Enemy*: but let the World judge, whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that

pursue

purſue their own ambitious ends more then the welfare of a miſerable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor diſtreſſed people much revived with the hopes of a happineſſe from this Treaty? and how ſuddenly are they fruſtrated in their expectations! Have not I formerly been condemned for yeelding too little to My two Houſes of Parliament; and ſhall I now be condemned for yeelding too much? Have I not formerly been impriſoned for making war, and ſhall I now be condemned for making peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a KING, and ſhall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the ſociety of my dear Wife and Children in peace and quietneſſe; and ſhall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me, and ſhall I now be obedient to My Subjects? Have I not been condemned for Evil Counſellours, and ſhall I now be condemned for having no Councel but God? Theſe are unutterable miſeries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the leſſe My endeavours are reſpected: and how ſhall I know hereafter what to grant, when your ſelves know not what to aſk? I refer it to your conſciences, whether I have not ſatisfied your deſires in every particular ſince this Treaty; if you finde I have not, then let Me bear the burden of the fault: but if I have given you ample ſatisfaction (as I am ſure I have) then you are bound to vindicate Me from the fury of thoſe whoſe thoughts are fill'd with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I muſt further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obſtruct the long hoped for peace of this Nation, then the illegal proceedings of them that preſume from Servants to become Maſters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to aboliſh Monarchy. Needs muſt the total alteration of fundamentals be, not only deſtructive to others, but in concluſion to themſelves; for they that endeavour to

eyes of My people are opened ſo much that they plainly diſcover who are the undermines of this Treaty.

For mine own part, I here proteſt before the face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not ſo much as My peoples ſufferings: for, I know what to truſt to already, and they know not: God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our patience to our ſufferings!

And when the malice of Mine Enemies is ſpun out to the ſmalleſt thred, let them know, that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to ſuffer, as they are active to advance My ſufferings: and Mine own ſoul tels Me, that the time will come, when the very clouds ſhall drop down vengeance upon the heads of thoſe that barrocado themſelves againſt the proceedings of peace: for, if God hath proclaimed a bleſſing to the peace-makers, needs muſt the peace-breakers draw down curſes upon their heads.

I thank My God, I have armed My ſelf againſt their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy flie at Me, I have a breſt to receive them, and a heart poſſeſt with patience to ſuſtain them: for God is My Rock and my ſhield; therefore I will not fear what man can do unto Me. I will expect the worſt, and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the glory: for vain is the help of man.

to rule by the ſword, ſhall at laſt fall by it; for faction is the Mother of Ruine: and it is the humour of thoſe who are of this Weathercock-like diſpoſition to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that pleaſe them but onely *pro tempore*, for the too much variety doth but confound the ſenſes, and makes them ſtill hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the beſt cure for Faction; for it will at length (like a ſpreading leproſie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it ſo odious, that at laſt they will hate themſelves for love of that, and, like the Fiſh, for love of the bait, be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all My loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be My laſt, that I have earneſtly laboured for peace, and that My thoughts were ſincere and abſolute, without any ſiniſter ends, and there was nothing left undone by Me that My Conſcience would permit Me to do. And I call God to witneſſe that I do firmly conceive that the interpoſition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipſed the glory of that peace which began again to ſhine in this Land. And let the World judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties, to ſubvert both. Such actions as theſe muſt produce ſtrange conſequences, and ſet open the flood-gates of ruin to overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely Mine own ſeeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have ſtopt the courſe of it; but I being importun'd by My two Houſes, and they by moſt part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their deſires, for the performance of ſo commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and

eyes

# LETTERS

Written by

# His MAjESTY

To ſeveral Perſons ſince the beginning of this PARLIAMENT, Heretofore publiſhed at ſeveral times, and now collected into one Body.

Together with thoſe intercepted Letters publiſhed by the PARLIAMENT, before which is prefixed His MAjESTIES Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS concerning the publiſhing of them; and part of one of His MAjESTIES Declarations concerning the ſame.

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His

I:

## *To the Houſe of Peers about the Repreive of the Earl of* Strafford, *ſent by the* Prince, *May* 11. 1641. *from White-hall.*

*My Lords,*

I Did yeſterday ſatisfie the Juſtice of the Kingdom by paſſing of the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; but mercy being as inherent, and inſeparable to a King as juſtice: I deſire at this time in ſome meaſure to ſhew, that, likewiſe by ſuffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural courſe of his life in a cloſe impriſonment; yet ſo, that if ever he make the leaſt offer to eſcape, or offer directly, or indirectly to meddle in any ſort of publick buſineſſe; eſpecially with Me, either by Meſſage, or Letter, it ſhall coſt him his life without further proceſſe. This, if it may be done without the diſcontentment of My people, will be an unſpeakable contentment to Me

To which end, as in the firſt place, I by this Letter do earneſtly deſire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have choſen him to carry it, that of all your Houſe is moſt dear to Me. So I deſire that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the Houſe of Commons contentment: Likewiſe aſſuring you, that the exerciſe of mercy is no more pleaſing to me, then to ſee both Houſes of Parliament conſent for my ſake, that I ſhould moderate the ſeverity of the Law, in ſo important a caſe.

I will not ſay that your complying with Me, in this My intended mercy, ſhall make Me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more cheerful in granting your juſt grievances. But if no leſſe then his life can

ſatisfie

ſatisfie My people, I muſt ſay *fiat juſtitia*. Thus again recommending the conſideration of my intentions to you, I reſt.

*Whitehall May* 11. 1641.

*Your unalterable and affectionate friend,*

*Charls* R.

If he muſt dye, it were charity to repriеve him till Satterday.

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2.

*To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attourney General, March* 4. 1641. *From* Royſton.

*C. R.*

RIght truſty and well beloved Councellour, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that We did the third of January laſt, deliver to Our Attourney certain Articles of Accuſation ingroſſed in *paper*, a copy whereof We have ſent here incloſed; and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint Our Houſe of Peers, that divers great and traſonable deſignes and practiſes againſt Us and the State had come to Our knowledge for which We commanded him, in Our Name to accuſe the ſix perſons in the ſaid paper mentioned of High Treaſon, and other high miſdemeanours by deliver-

ring

ſing the paper to Our ſaid Houſe, and to deſire to have it read, and further, to deſire in Our Name, that a ſelect Committee of Lords, might be appointed to take the examinations of ſuch witneſſes as We would produce, and as formerly had been done in caſes of like nature, according to the juſtice of the Houſe, and the Committee to be under a command of ſecrecy as formerly, and further in Our Name to aſk liberty, to adde and alter if there ſhould be cauſe: We do further declare that Our ſaid Attourney, did not adviſe or contrive the ſaid Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in adviſing any breach of Priviledge that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the truſt by Us repoſed in him ſo to do: And had he refuſed to obey Us herein, We would have queſtioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Truſt.

But now having declared, that we finde cauſe wholly to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the perſons accuſed, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor diſcover any proof concerning the ſame.

*Given at* Royſton *the fourth of March* 1641.

3.

*To the Lord Keeper about the Lord Admiral, March 21. 1642. From* York.

RIghe trusty and well beloved Counceillour, We greet you well, We wonder both at the form and matter of that inclosed paper, ye sent Us (in the name of both Houses of Parliament, in yours of the 28 of March) it being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief Sea-commander; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir *John Pennington* being already appointed by Us for that service, upon the recommendation of our Admiral (which is so well known, that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alleaged against him, another should be recommended to Us: Therefore Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him, whom We have already appointed to command this years Fleet whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which We are confident Our Admiral (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony We suppose Our Parliament will not except) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir *John* (through some accident) not able to perform the service, yet the men of that profession are so well known to Us (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admiral excepted because of his place) recommendations of that kinde would not be acceptable to Us.

*Given at Our Court at York March* 31. 1642

To

4.

*To the Major of* Hul *April* 25. 1642.
*From* York.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well, Whereas We have been long ſenſible of the juſt complaints and great burdens of Our Subjects in theſe Northern parts, by occaſion of the Garriſon in Our Town of *Hull*; And whereas We were upon Friday the 22 of this Moneth Petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, inhabitants of this County, That the munition at *Hull* might remain in the Magazine there, for the ſecurity of Our perſon, and of all theſe Northern parts, their fear being much grounded upon the Parliaments relations of Forrain Invaſions: Upon which, the more to expreſſe Our care of Our peoples ſafety, We did Our Self go in perſon to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We might conſult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any preſſing occaſion, having a reſpect to the promiſed ſupply for *Scotland*, the neceſſary uſe of arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the ſafeguard & ſatisfaction of theſe Northern parts. But much contrary to Our expectation, and the duty and allegiance of Our Subjects, We found the gates of that Our Town ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up againſt Us: And though We came in a peaceable way, repoſing the greateſt confidence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offering (as We did) to put Our own perſon, and Our two Sons, but with twenty horſe, into that Town, there being in it a Garriſon of about eight hundred Souldiers; Yet We were not onely denied entrance, but in a warlike manner oppoſed by Sir *John Hotham*, the armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all the Wals of the Town, alleaging (though falſely) for his excuſe, The Command

mand of the Parliament, and being preſſed by Us to ſhew ſuch an Order in writing, he could not do it; for We were ever very confident that there was never any publick order of theirs, that could ſo much as imply a denyal to Our admiſſion; We knowing well enough, that he was entruſted by them for a guard and ſecurity of that place againſt Forraign Enemies, or thoſe at home who are diſaffected in Religion, and not againſt His natural Soveraign; which hoſtile Oppoſition and actual levying of War againſt Our perſon, being by the ſtatute of 25 *Ed.* 3. enacted High Treaſon: Which ſtatute conſidered, and that for the avoiding of all jealouſies, as We have ſaid, We were content to have been admitted with ſo very ſmall a number in Our company, We were thereupon conſtrained to proclaim the ſaid Sir *John Hotham*, and all thoſe that ſhould adhere to, or aſſiſt him, Traitors. Of all which aboveſaid paſſages, We have acquainted Our Parliament, demanding juſtice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by Sir *John Hotham*, and We the eaſier way to chaſtiſe, according to the Law, ſo high a Treaſon. And leſt a miſunderſtanding of Our intentions, or of the Law may miſguide any of Our loyal and well affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town, We have thought fit to commend to your conſideration the aforeſaid ſtatute, with that of the 11 of *Hen.* 7. *chap.* 1.

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimous aſſent of Parliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by the duty of Allegiance, to ſerve the King, for the time being, for the defence of his perſon and the Land, againſt every Rebellion, Might, or power, raiſed againſt Him, and with His Majeſty to enter or abide in ſervice, in battel, if cauſe ſo require.* And it was therefore then enacted, *That from thenceforth no perſon whatſoever that ſhall attend upon the King or be in place, by His command,*

*within*

*within or without the Land, That for the ſame deed and true ſervice of Allegiance, he and they be no wayes attaint or convict of high Treaſon, or of other offences for that cauſe, by any proceſſe of Law, whereby he, or any of them ſhall loſe or forfeit lives, Lands, tenements, goods, or any thing; but be for that deed and ſervice utterly diſcharged of any vexation, trouble, or loſſe: And if any Act or Acts, of other proceſſe of Law thereupon for the ſame happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts, or other proceſſe of the Law whatſoever they ſhall be, ſtand and be utterly void.*

All which, together with the copies of Our Meſſage and Petition (which We ſend here incloſed) We require you to publiſh to the Inhabitants, and all ſuch Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the peril of the Law on the one ſide, and the ſecurity of ſuch as ſhall adhere to Us on the other they be not miſled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit Our entrance in a peaceable way. In ſo doing you ſhall both diſcharge your duties, and thoſe that ſhall have need, be aſſured to finde (upon ſuch their ſubmiſſion) Our ready mercy and pardon. And We do likewiſe require and charge all you, the Inhabitants (as well Souldiers as others) upon your allegiance, That you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be removed or tranſported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatſoever, without Our Royal aſſent in writing under Our hand. Aſſuring you, that it will be much more pleaſing to Us to have occaſion adminiſtred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge thoſe graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predeceſſours, then to have any occaſion to queſtion your Charter.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *the* 25 *of April.* 1642.

5.

*To the High Sheriff of Yorkſhire, May* 5. 1642. *From* York.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We underſtand, that Sir *John Hotham* takes upon him (without any legal authority or power) to iſſue Warrants to Conſtables, and other Our Officers, to raiſe divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Countrey, and requires them to march with their arms, & to come into Our Town of *Hull*, where he hath diſarmed divers of them, keeps their arms, and diſcharges the men; and whereas We are credibly informed, that divers perſons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend ſhortly to ſummon, and endeavour to muſter the forces of this Our County: For as much as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raiſed or muſtered, upon any pretence or authority whatſoever, but by ſpecial warrant under Our own hand, or by a legal Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County, appointed and authorized by Commiſſion under Our Great Seal. And whereas at preſent there is no Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the forces & Trained Bands of this Our County of *York*, and the Commiſſions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of Our Trained Bands, (which were derived from the Commiſſion and power of the Lord Lieutenant onely) are now actually void, and of no force and authority. Our will and command therefore is, that you forthwith iſſue Warrants under your hand,

hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commiſſion was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County: and alſo to all High and petty Conſtables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern; charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Our Kingdom, not to muſter, leavy, or raiſe, or to ſummon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatſoever) any of Our Trained Bands to riſe, muſter, or march, without expreſſe warrant under Our hand, or warrant from you Our Sheriffe grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpoſe; which We alſo command you, not to put in execution without Our privity and allowance, whiles We ſhall reſide in this Our County. And in caſe any of Our Trained Bands ſhall riſe, or gather together, contrary to this Our command, Then We will and command you to charge and require them, to diſſolve and retire to ther dwellings. And if upon due ſummons from you, they ſhall not lay down their arms, and depart to their dwellings; We will and command you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of this Our Kingdom, to raiſe the power of the County, and ſuppreſſe them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you power to do. And to the end that this Our expreſſe command may be notified to all Our good Subjects in this Our County, ſo as none may pretend hereafter to have been miſled through ignorance: We require you to cauſe theſe Our Letters to be forthwith read, and publiſhed openly in all Churches and Pariſhes in this Our County. Herein you may not fail, as you tender the ſafety and honour of Our perſon, the good and peace of this Our Kingdom, and will anſwer the contrary at your peril. For which this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. *Given at Our Court at* York, *May* 5. *&c.*

6.

*To the Gentry of* Yorkſhire, *May* 16. 1642. *From* York.

WE have with great contentment conſidered your dutiful and affectionate Anſwer to Our propoſition concerning the unſufferable affront which We received at *Hull*; We have not been deceived in that confidence We had in your affection, wherefore We deſire you to aſſure the reſt of your Countreymen, who through negligence, were omitted to be ſummoned: that We ſhall never abuſe your love by any power wherewith God ſhall enable Us to the leaſt violation of the leaſt of your liberties or the diminution of thoſe immunities which We have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of moſt (if not all) Our Predeceſſours; being reſolved with a conſtant and firm reſolution to have the Law of this Land duly obſerved, and ſhall endeavour onely ſo to preſerve Our juſt Royal Rights, as may enable Us to protect Our Kingdom and people, according to the ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the truſt which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown, being ſufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the ſame out of Our power; concerning which affront We will take ſome time to adviſe which way We may uſefully imploy your affections: In the mean time We ſhall take it well from all ſuch as ſhall perſonally attend Us, ſo followed and provided, as they ſhall think fit for the better ſafety of Our perſon, becauſe We know not what ſudden violence, or affront may be offered unto Us, having lately received ſuch an actual teſtimony of rebellious intentions

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as Sir *John Hotham* hath expreſſed at *Hull*: Being thus ſecured by your affections and aſſiſtance, We promiſe you Our protection againſt any contrary power whatſoever. And that you ſhall not be moleſted for your humble and modeſt petition, as of late you have been threatned.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *May* 16. 1642.

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7.

*To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, *May* 20. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

RIght truſty and well beloved Couſins, and Councellours, We greet you well. Although We have already written Our minde to you Our Councel; yet upon Our ſecond thoughts, ariſing eſpecially from ſome bad rumours, coming to Our knowledge, We finde it neceſſary both for Our Self, and for the good of that Our Kingdom, to declare and make known both Our diſpoſition and deſires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Us, and that We muſt render an account of all Our actions to Him, who in His own time ſhall judge all men without exception of perſons. We have no other intentions, but by Our government, to honour Him by whom Kings raign, and to procure the good of Our people; and for this end to preſerve the right and authority wherewith God hath veſted Us, and which by His providence hath been derived to Us, by many Princely Progenitors: in the which glory that Our ancient Kingdom, and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you that you ſhould ſit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom: We onely intended to have both Our ſufferings and Our actions, (as they are expreſt in many papers paſt betwixt Us and Our Parliament) made throughly known to you: that ſince We have none beſides you whom We can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly ſee that We have been ſo far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that We have given them all ſatisfaction, even above that which they themſelves in the beginning did expreſſe, or almoſt deſire: And as much as could well conſiſt with the ſafety of Our perſon and honour. We will not put you in minde of your natural affection towards Us, which We know will rather be kindled then extinguiſhed by Our diſtreſſe: Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Our Greatneſſe and Authority, and which ſtandeth in that ſenſe wherein you did ſwear and ſubſcribe it: Nor of the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament (of which We hope the preſent and the ſucceeding Generations ſhall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone:) Nor of the many promiſes made unto Us, upon which We were willing to yeeld to ſuch things for ſetling the government of that Our Kingdom, in Our perſonal abſence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved (as your ſelves did profeſſe) had Our greater affairs permitted Our reſidence amongſt you. And whereas We are moſt unjuſtly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popiſhly affected: 2. That We are the cauſe of the bloodſhed in *Ireland*: 3. That We intend to bring in Forraign Forces: We here do proteſt and declare in preſence of him who knows the moſt ſecret of Our intentions and actions, that We are no wayes conſcious to Our Self of the guiltineſſe of any of the ſaid aſperſions: And do take him to witneſſe Our innocency therein, who onely hath the priviledge to be the ſearcher of hearts. And if

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any after ſo full and plain profeſſion ſhall diſtruſt this Our free Declaration, We atteſt God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deſerved on Our part.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *May* 20. 1642.

8.

*To the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *June* 4. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

RIght truſty and welbeloved, We greet you well: Whereas We underſtand, that you have begun to aſſemble, train, and muſter the Trained Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereto We have not given Our conſent; which is not onely contrary to Law, but to Our command and pleaſure, ſignified by Our Proclamation ſent to the High Sheriff of that Our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of ſuch Our prohibition; We do by theſe Our Letters, command and charge you, upon your allegiance, to deſiſt and forbear to raiſe, muſter, train, exerciſe, or aſſemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your ſelf, or by any others imployed under you, or by warrant from you. And becauſe you may for what you have already done, concerning the *Militia* of that Our County, plead that you had not ſo particular a command, We ſhall paſſe by what you have already done therein, ſo as preſently upon your receipt hereof, you ſhall deſiſt and give over medling any further with any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that Our County; but if you ſhall not preſently deſiſt, and forbear medling therewith, We are reſolved to call

You to a ſtrict account for your diſobedience therein, after ſo many particular and legal commands given You, upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and ſhall eſteem and proceed againſt you as a diſturber of the peace of Our Kingdom.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *June* 4. 1642.

*To Our right truſty and well beloved the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham.

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9.

*To the Commiſſioners of Array in Leiceſterſhire, June* 12. 1642. *From* York.

*C. R.*

RIght truſty and right well beloved Couſins, and right truſty & well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament the fifteenth of March laſt, that the Kingdom hath of late, and ſtill is, in ſo evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popiſh diſcontented party at home; that there is an urgent and inevitable neceſſity of putting Our Subjects to a poſture of defence; for the ſafeguard both of Our perſon and people: and that ſithence divers inhabitants of divers *Counties* have addreſſed their Petitions to that purpoſe: And whereas a ſmall number of both Houſes (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full Houſe, and without Our Royal aſſent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to diſpoſſeſſe many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and truſt repoſed in them by Us, and have nominated divers others, who have no intereſt in, nor live near to ſome of the *Counties* to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, whereby they cannot be properly ſerviceable to the *Counties* wherewith they are intruſted, nor Our people receive

ceive that content and ſecurity which We deſire they ſhould: To ſubmit to the execution of which power by the way of Ordinance, without it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament, eſtabliſhed by Our Royal aſſent, were to introduce and expoſe Our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods grace We ſhall never permit.

We therefore conſidering that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth ſolely to Us, to order and govern the *Militia* of the Kingdom; have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27 of May laſt, prohibited all manner of perſons whatſoever upon their Allegiance, to Muſter, Levy, or Summon, upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houſes of Parliament, whereunto We have not, or ſhall not give Our expreſſe conſent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expreſſe Warrant under Our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpoſe under Our great Seal. And conſidering that in ancient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever diſpoſed of by Commiſſions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth year of *Henry* the fourth, by full conſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons, and at their ſuit, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, ſuch Commiſſions were mitigated in reſpect of ſome clauſes perillous to the Commiſſioners; and approved of for the time to come: And that by the ſubſequent Records it appeareth, that all Our Royal Predeceſſours have continually exerciſed that power by ſuch Commiſſions, till of late time they have been diſcontinued by the grants of particular Commiſſions of Lieutenancy, little differing in ſubſtance from the ſaid Commiſſions of Array, againſt which it ſeems the Houſes have taken ſome exception. And though We are no way ſatisfied of the illegality of them, Our Councell being never heard in the defence there-

of, yet being willing to avoid all exceptions at preſent, We have thought fit to refer it, to that ancient legal way of diſpoſing the power of the *Militia*, by ſuch Commiſſions of Array, for defence of Us, Our Kingdom, and Our Countrey: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train Our people, and to apportion and aſſeſſe ſuch perſons as have eſtates, and are not able to bear arms, to finde arms for other men, in a reaſonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them ſo arraid, as well to the Coaſts as other places for the oppoſition and deſtruction of Our Enemies in caſe of danger, as to your diſcretions, or any three or more of you ſhall ſeem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your abſence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Haſtings* Eſquire, to be one: And being both confident in a great meaſure of the loyal affections of Our people, and very tender to bring any unneceſſary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands, We do for the preſent onely require that you forthwith cauſe to be muſtred and trained, all the ancient Trained Bands and freehold Bands of the County, carefully ſeeing, that they be ſupplyed with able and ſufficient perſons, and compleatly armed; unleſſe you finde that there be juſt cauſe, and that it ſhall be with the good liking of the inhabitants for their own better ſecurity to make any encreaſe of their numbers; and over ſuch Bands to appoint and ſet ſuch Colonels, Captains, and Officers, as you ſhall think moſt fit for the diſcharge of that ſervice, being ſuch perſons as have conſiderable intereſt in the County, and not ſtrangers. And in caſe of any oppoſition, you are to raiſe the power of the County to ſuppreſſe it, and to commit all ſuch perſons as ſhall be found rebellious herein, into the cuſtody of Our Sheriff; whoſe care and aſſiſtance We eſpecially require. And that he ſhall from time to time iſſue forth ſuch Warrants for the aſſembling of

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Our people, at ſuch times and places as by you ſhall be agreed on, according to the truſt repoſed in him by Our ſaid Commiſſion. And We have authorized you Our Commiſſioners, or any three of you, after ſuch Array made, from time to time, to Train and take Muſters of Our ſaid Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other neceſſaries for the better exerciſing of Our people, and diſcovery of ſudden invaſions and commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, We expect a ſpeedy and plenary account, according to the truſt repoſed in you, and authority given you by Our Commiſſion on that behalf.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *the twelfth day of June, in the* 18 *year of Our reign,* 1642.

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10.

*To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of* London, *June* 14. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have received ſeveral informations of great ſums of money endeavoured to be borrowed of Our City of *London*, by ſome direction proceeding from both Our Houſes of Parliament, & likewiſe that great labour is uſed to perſwade Our Subjects to raiſe Horſe, and to furniſh money; upon pretence of providing a guard for Our Parliament; Theſe are to let you know, that (notwithſtanding any ſcandalous Votes which have preſumed to declare Our intention of levying war againſt Our Parliament, and to lay other aſperſions on Us, ſo fully diſavowed by Us in the preſence of Almighty God, by Our ſeveral Anſwers and Declarations) all Our deſires and purpoſes are for the

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publick peace, and that Wee have not the leaſt thought of raiſing or uſing force, except We are compelled to it for the defence of Our perſon, and in protection of the Law: And therefore We expect, that you ſuffer not your ſelves to be miſled by ſuch vain and improbable ſuggeſtions, and do declare, That if you ſhall lend any ſums of money towards the relief of *Ireland* (to which We have contributed all the aſſiſtance could be deſired of Us, which way ſoever the money given and raiſed to that purpoſe is diſpoſed) or towards the payment of Our *Scots* Subjects, We ſhall take it as an acceptible ſervice at your hands; but if upon general pretences contrived by a few factious perſons againſt the peace of the Kingdom, you ſhall give or lend any money, or provide or raiſe any horſes or arms, towards the raiſing ſuch a guard, We ſhall look upon it as the raiſing force againſt Us, and to be done in malice and contempt of Us and Our Authority. And We do therefore ſtraitly charge and command you to publiſh this Our Letter to the ſeveral Maſters and Wardens of the ſeveral Companies, that they may be aſſured, that ſuch money as they ſhall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdom, may be onely imployed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not toward ſuch Guards, which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that Deſign (though We believe many honeſt men ſeduced by them do not yet ſee their end) to be imployed againſt Us: And if you and they ſhall herein fail punctually and ſeverally to obſerve Our commands, We ſhall not onely proceed againſt the ſeveral Companies for deceiving the truſt repoſed in them; but againſt the particular perſons, as contemners and oppoſers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the Land, in the moſt exemplary way the known Law of the Land ſhall preſcribe to Us; and ſhall be compelled to queſtion the Charter of your City, which We are willing yet to believe (notwithſtanding the barbarous and

inſolent

inſolent demeanour of the meaner and baſer ſort) in a good degree to continue loyal to Us. And of your obedience to theſe Our commands We do expect and require a full account, and of the names of ſuch perſons who ſhall oppoſe the ſame. Hereof fail you not as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril.

*Given at Our Court at* York *the* 14 *day of June, &c.*

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II.

*To the Judges, to be publiſhed in their Circuits, July* 4. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. We call to minde that in former times the conſtant cuſtom was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star-Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Aſſiſe (ſhortly after to undertake their ſeveral Circuits) in minde of ſuch things as were then thought neceſſary for the preſent, for the good government of the Kingdom. This courſe in Our judgement We do well approve of. That although We want the opportunity, which We and Our Predeceſſours then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges, for the good of Our people, yet We do ſtill retain the ſame care for the ſafety and proſperity of Our good Subjects: And much more, by how much, the diſtempers and diſtractions of the preſent times, unhappily faln, have given Us more occaſion. We have therefore thought it fit, to ſupply the defect by theſe Our Letters; wherein, beſides the general care of Our juſtice, committed to Us by God, and by Us delegated to Our Judges by Our ſeveral Commiſſions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We ſhall do to the reſt of your Brethren in their ſeveral Circuits, theſe particulars following. Firſt,

First, that you take care, by all the beſt means you can, to ſuppreſſe Popery in all thoſe Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Laws made againſt them in due execution: And that you take like care to give a ſtop to the overhaſty growth of Anabaptiſm, and other Schiſms, as far as by the good Laws of the Land you may; and to puniſh the Delinquents with an equal hand, and thoſe ſpecially of either ſort whom you ſhall diſcover to be ſeditious ſtirrers and movers of others to any acts of diſobedience to Us, and Our Government; and that in charge and otherwiſe, as you ſhall have fit opportunity, you aſſure Our good Subjects in Our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witneſſe, that by his gracious aſſiſtance We are conſtantly reſolved to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, as We found it at Our acceſſe to the Crown; and as it was maintained in the happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* Our dear Father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, You ſhall let Our people of thoſe Counties know, That according to Our Kingly Duty and Oath, We are alſo conſtantly reſolved to maintain the Laws of this Our Kingdom; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatſoever the malevolent ſpirits of any ill affected to Our perſon or government, have ſuggeſted, or ſhall ſuggeſt to the contrary. And that We ſhall alſo maintain the juſt priviledges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predeceſſours have done, and as far as may ſtand with that juſtice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any ſuch unwarranted power, in either, or both Houſes of Parliament, which in ſome things hath been lately uſurped, not only without, but againſt Our Royal conſent and Command.

mand. And We require and command you, as there ſhall be juſt occaſion offered, in a legal way, that you take care to preſerve Our juſt Right in theſe caſes.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principal part under Us, that you take care for ſuppreſſing of all Inſurrections, if any ſuch ſhould happen, and of all Riots and unlawful Aſſemblies under any pretence whatſoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whoſoever ſhall tranſgreſſe therein, that you let them know that they muſt expect that puniſhment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands We ſhall look for ſuch an account herein, within your circuit, as becometh the quality of the place wherein you ſerve Us.

Fourthly, becauſe the diſtempers of the preſent times, unhappily ſtirred up and fomented by ſome, under ſpecious, but unjuſt pretences, and probable to ſtir up looſe and ungoverned people, under hope of impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, We ſtraitly charge and command you to take the beſt order you can in thoſe Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other diſorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and puniſhed according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of Our Kingdom may be ſecured, and the wicked and licentious may be ſuppreſſed: and We charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are ſent by Our Commiſſions, that Watches and Wards be ſtraitly kept in all Pariſhes and places convenient, whereby the Laws made againſt ſuch diſorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly, and laſtly, you ſhall let Our people of [illegible] Counties know from Us, and by Our command, that if they ſhall profeſſe unto Us, or unto you in Our ſtead, any thing wherein they hold themſelves grieved,

ved, in an humble and fitting way, and ſhall deſire a juſt Reformation or Relief, We ſhall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience return them ſuch an anſwer, as ſhall give them cauſe to thank Us for Our juſtice and favour: And when you ſhall have publiſhed Our cleer intentions to Our people in theſe things, leſt at the firſt hearing they ſhould not ſo fully apprehend Our ſenſe therein, you ſhall deliver a copy of theſe Our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one ſhall deſire copies of theſe Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our ſervices in your Circuit may not ſuffer through the abſence of Our learned Councel, Our will and command is, that you aſſigne in every place of your Seſſions ſome of the ableſt Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Counſel for Us, to aſſiſt in ſuch Pleas of the Crown, that may be moſt neceſſary for Our ſervice in the execution and puniſhment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all theſe things We ſhall expect that good account from you, as We ſhall from the reſt of your brethren Our Judges, to whom We have alſo written to the like purpoſe, of whoſe fidelity and good affections We are confident as becometh Us to look for from you, and for you to render to Us, wherein you have ſo great a truſt committed.

*Given at Our Court at* York, *July* 4. 1642.

*To Our truſty and well beloved, the Judge or Judges of Aſſize for Our Counties of* Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Hartford, *and* Eſſex.

12.

*To the* Vice-Chancellour *of* Oxford, *July* 18 1642. *From* Beverley.

*Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,*

WHereas We have received a moſt large and ample teſtimony of the affection of that Our loyal Univerſity tō Us, by the free loan of a very conſiderable Sum of money, in a time of ſo great and imminent neceſſity. Theſe are to will and require you, to give to that Our Univerſity from Us, Our Royal thanks, and to aſſure them and every of them, (Our loving and loyal Subjects) that this teſtimony of their hearts towards Us, ſhall never depart out of Our Royal memory, and that both they ſhall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed onely upon the defence of Our Self, the true Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws eſtabliſhed in this Our Kingdom: and whereas We hear, that for this action, ſo full of loyalty and allegiance, ſome of that Our Univerſity have been ordered to be ſent for, theſe are to will and require you, to ſignifie unto them and every of them, (who aſſume ſuch power to themſelves without Us) That We will and command, that no obedience be given to any ſuch ſummons, holding Our Self bound to protect and defend thoſe, who ſhall be perſecuted for that cauſe, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. And ſo We bid you farewell.

*Given at Our Court at* Beverly, *July* 18. 1642.

*To*

13.

*To the Mayor of* Oxford, *July* 22. 1642. *From* Nottingham.

*C. R.*

TRuſty and welbeloved, We greet you well, whereas We have lately received very ample teſtimonies of the good affections of Our Univerſity of *Oxon*, by the loan of ſuch monies as could be thence ſpared for the ſupply of Our urgent and extraordinary occaſions; For which dutiful and affectionate expreſſion, We are informed that ſeveral worthy perſons of that Our Univerſity, Our ſervants and others are threatned to be troubled and nioleſted, We have thought fit to commend the care, aſſiſtance, and protection, of that place and of the perſons in it, to you as a ſervice, wherein you ſhall merit Our favour and good acceptance, & of which We ſhall require an account. And We do therefore will and require you, as you tender Our diſpleaſure, if any Warrant, Order, or other direction whatſoever ſhall come to your hand for the apprehending or troubling any perſon or perſons of that Our Univerſity for his good affection to Our ſervice in advancing the buſineſſe of lending and ſupplying Us with money which We ſhall never forget, that you be ſo far from countenancing or aſſiſting any ſuch warrant or direction, that on the contrary you uſe your utmoſt power to preſerve thoſe Our good Subjects from ſuch oppreſſion, the which We ſhall take in very good part at your hand, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant.

*Given at Our Court at* Nottingham, *July* 22. 1642.

To

14.

*To the Sheriffs of* London, *January* 17. 1642
*From* Oxford.

C. R.

TRuſty and welbeloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-counceil of Our City of *London*, by the hands of perſons intruſted by them for the delivery, who found ſuch a reception from Us, as well manifeſted Our regard to that body which ſent them; Though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where peruſed and examined, before it was approved by thoſe from whom it ſeemed to be ſent, yet We were ſo willing to enter into a correſpondence with that Our City, and to receive any addreſſe and application from them, according to that invitation We had given by Our late Proclamation; and were ſo glad to finde that there was yet ſome hopes they would look to the peace and happineſſe of that City, and at laſt ſever themſelves from any Faction or dependence which might inſenſibly involve them in thoſe calamities they did not foreſee, that We returned ſuch a gracious Anſwer thereunto, ſo full of candor and affection, that the meaneſt inhabitant of that Our City, if he careſully conſider the ſame, will finde himſelf concerned in it, and that We have had an eſpeciall care of his particular. With this anſwer of Ours We ſent a ſervant of Our own, in the company of thoſe who had been ſo well uſed here, to require and ſee that it might be communicated to the whole body of that Our City; not doubting but that both it and the bringer ſhould receive ſuch entertainment there, as might manifeſt their

their due regard of Us, and of Our affection to them: But to Our great wonder; We finde that after ten dayes attendance, and ſuffering ridiculous Pamphlets to be publiſhed in Our Name, as if We retracted Our former reſolutions, (which Pamphlet We have cauſed to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as We alſo require you to ſee done) inſtead of that admiſſion We expected to Our Meſſenger and Meſſage, Guards of armed men have been brought to keep Our good Subjects, to whom that Our Anſwer was directed, from being preſent at the reading thereof; and Speeches have been made by ſtrangers (who have been admitted to the City Counſels, contrary to the Freedome and cuſtome of theſe meetings,) to blaſt Our ſaid Anſwer, and to diſhonour and ſlander Us, which if Our good Subjects there ſhall ſuffer, Wee ſhall be much diſcouraged in Our deſired correſpondence with that Our City, and ſo by the cunning and power of thoſe Incendiaries mentioned in Our Anſwer (Alderman *Pennington*), who to ſhew his great loyalty to Us, and his fitneſſe to be the chief Magiſtrate of ſuch a City, being informed that a deſperate perſon there ſaid, that *he hoped ſhortly to waſh his hands in Our blood*, refuſed to ſend any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehenſion (*Ven*, *Fulke*, and *Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into ſuch unſpeakable calamities, in which they would ſtill keep it to cure their own deſperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not ſuffered to receive Our gracious Anſwer to that petition: We have therefore thought fit to write theſe Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffs of Our ſaid City to take care for the publiſhing that Our Anſwer (which We herewith ſend you) to Our good Subjects of the City: And Our pleaſure is, That you the Maſters

and

and Wardens of the ſeveral Companies of Our ſaid City, forthwith ſummon all the members of your ſeveral Companies, with all the Freemen and Apprentices (whoſe hopes and intereſts are ſo much blaſted in theſe general diſtractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at your ſeveral Hals, where you ſhall cauſe Our ſaid Anſwer, together with theſe Our Letters, to be publickly read, that all Our good Subjects may clearly underſtand how far We have been from begetting, how far We are from continuing or nouriſhing theſe unnatural civil diſſentions, and how much it is in their own power to remove the preſent preſſures, and to eſtabliſh the future happineſſe and glory of that famous City, and moſt ſeriouſly weigh every part of that Our Anſwer, as well that which carries caution in it for the future, as pardon for what is paſt; for aſſure your ſelves for the time to come, We ſhall proceed with all ſeverity againſt ſuch who ſhall incur the penalty of the Law in thoſe points, of which We have given them ſo fair a warning in Our ſaid Anſwer, and whoſoever ſhall not behave himſelf like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom, ſhall not, (if We can help it) receive the benefit and advantage of being Our Subject in any other; but all Forraign Princes ſhall know, that as ſuch perſon hath parted with his loyalty to Us, ſo he muſt not hope for any ſecurity by Us, and to that purpoſe We ſhall henceforward have a very inquiſitive eye upon the actions of all Our Subjects, that ſome example may be made, how eaſie it is for Us to puniſh their diſloyalties abroad, who for a time may avoid Our juſtice at home. And to the end that none of Our good Subjects of that Our City may think themſelves bound to obey any of the orders or commands of the pretended Lord Mayor (whom We have and do ſtill accuſe of high Treaſon, and conſpiring to take Our life from Us) It is well known unto thoſe Citizens who

who underſtand the Charter of that City (ſo amply granted by Our Royal progenitors, and ſo graciouſly confirmed by Us, and of which We preſume our good Subjects there do ſtill deſire to receive the benefit,) that the ſaid *Iſaac Penington* was never regularly erected, or lawfully admitted to be Lord Mayor of that Our City, that in truth Alderman *Cordwel*, was by the plurality of voices choſen, and that this man was never preſented to, or admitted by Us, in ſuch manner as is preſcriqed by their ſaid Charter, neither had that Judge, who preſumed to ſwear him, any more colour of law or authority to adminiſter ſuch an oath to him, then he hath to do the ſame to morrow to any other Alderman of the City: And We do therefore hereby declare the ſaid *Iſaac. Penington* not to be Mayor of that Our City of *London*, and to have no lawful authority to exerciſe the ſame, and that Our good Subjects of that Our City, ought not to ſubmit to any Orders, directions, or commands which ſhall iſſue from him as Lord Mayor of that Our City, but that the ſame are void and of none effect. And We do once more require you the Sheriffs of Our ſaid City, and all other the Magiſtrates of the ſame, in which all Our good Subjects of that City will aſſiſt you; that you cauſe ſaid *Iſaac Penington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Manwaring*, to be apprehended and committed to ſafe cuſtody, that We may proceed againſt them as guilty of high Treaſon, and principal Authors of thoſe calamities which are now ſo heavy upon Our poor Subjects of that City, and if not ſuddenly remedied will in a ſhort time utterly confound a place, and a people lately of ſo flouriſhing an eſtimation in all parts of Chriſtendom. And whereas We are enformed that one *Brown* a Woodmonger, *Titchburne* a Linen-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman, have exerciſed great inſolencies and outrages in that Our City, and when many of Our good ſubjects there, have aſſembled together in a peaceable and modeſt manner, to conſult about the

peace

peace and welfare of that City, the ſaid mutinous and ſeditious perſons have preſumed to lead multitudes of armed men againſt them, and by ſuch force have beaten, wounded, and killed Our good Subjects, Our will and pleaſure is, That if the ſaid *Brown*, *Titchburn*, and *Harvey*, or either of them, ſhall ſo far neglect Our gracious offer of pardon, as ſtill to engage themſelves in thoſe unwarrantable & ſeditious courſes, That you Our Sheriffs of *London*, raiſe power to ſuppreſſe the ſaid force, and that you and all Our Miniſters of juſtice, uſe your utmoſt means to apprehend the ſaid perſons, and to bring them to condign puniſhment. And We do hereby declare, That it ſhall be lawful for any of Our loving Subjects, to reſiſt and oppoſe the ſaid perſons, if they ſhall hereafter, in ſuch a warlike manner, endeavour to moleſt them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors: And We hope that all Our good Subjects of that Our much injured City of *London*, do take notice of Our grace and favour towards them, in Our ſo freely paſſing by and pardoning the offences there committed againſt Us, as We have offered by Our Proclamation and Our late Anſwer; and of Our very earneſt deſire to be with them, and to reſide amongſt them for their comfort, ſupport, and protection, if they ſhall, by firſt providing for their own ſecurity, (in ſuch manner as We have directed them in Our late Anſwer) give Us an inſtance that We may be ſafe there too: and that they do likewiſe obſerve, that being by ſuch violence kept from them, We have done Our utmoſt endeavour to continue and advance the decaied trading of that Our City, by permitting and encouraging all reſort and traffique thither, and therefore if by the ſtopping of carriages, and ſeizing commodities by other men, the commerce and correſpondence be broken between that place and Our good Subjects of other Counties, they will impute that miſchief to the true authors of it, and look upon Us onely as not able to help them.

Do

Do but your duties, and this cloud which threatens a preſent confuſion will quickly vaniſh away, and you will enjoy all the bleſſings of a happy Nation, to the which no endeavour of Ours ſhall be wanting.

15.

*To the Sheriff and Juſtices of Glouceſter-ſhire, February* 12. 1642. *From* Oxford.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas there hath been lately an Inſurrection and Rebellion againſt Us in Our County of *Gloceſter*, which hath ſo generally poſſeſſed the ſpirits of that County (though We do acknowledge many Gentlemen of the beſt quality there, hath with courage retained their loyalty to Us, and have ſuffered with Us, which We ſhall alwayes and particularly remember) that there hath been a greater concurrence there in this deſperate Rebellion then in any County of *England*, inſomuch that We have been compelled to ſend a conſiderable part of Our Army thither, the which it pleaſed God to bleſſe with ſuch ſucceſſe, that We hope for the future We ſhall be able, by the concurrence and aſſiſtance of you, and the reſt of Our good Subjects of that good County, to preſerve you from the like Invaſions. And to ſhew how far We are from the juſt ſenſe and indignation We might well entertain againſt thoſe, who have ſo wilfully fallen from their allegiance, or concurred with the diſloyalty of others, by not applying themſelves to a timely prevention, We have ſent Our gracious Proclamation to inhibit Our Souldiers from plundring, or uſing

uſing any violence to any of Our Subjects of that County, of what condition ſoever, and to ſecure them in the freedom of their Markets, that their Trade and Commerce may be renewed and continued. Yet We muſt declare unto you, that We expect ſome reparation, and an exemplary teſtimony of their converſion and affection, who neglecting Our former Proclamations of Grace and pardon, continued ſtill to foment this unnatural bloody diſſention, though We ſhall not proceed with ſtrictneſſe and ſeverity againſt them: And it will not ſeem juſt that the charge and burthen, brought upon the Countrey by the malice and connivence of ſuch Men, ſhould be equally born by thoſe who have faithfully adhered in their loyalty and affection to Us, which is the caſe in the rate for the monethly Contribution agreed upon, in which all perſons of ability are equally engaged, how different ſoever their demeanour hath been; And therefore Our pleaſure is, That you, or any three of you (whereof We appoint you Our High Sheriff to be one) call and ſummon together the Gentlemen, Clergy, and ſubſtantial Freeholders and Inhabitants of that Our County, to appear before you at ſuch times and places, as you ſhall think moſt convenient, and move them in Our Name freely to aſſiſt and contribute unto Us according to their ſeverall abilities, in theſe Our urgent and important occaſions, for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, in which they have been bred, for the defence of the Lawes and Liberties, to which they were born, and for the ſafety of Our perſon, to which they have ſo often ſworn; and as We believe all well-affected perſons will bee willing and ready upon this occaſion to expreſſe their duty to Us, ſo We doubt not ſuch, who have by weakneſſe and miſunderſtanding, or through fear and apprehenſion

of danger been ſo far tranſported, as to contribute or conſent to theſe horrid diſſentions, will by their free and liberal aſſiſtance of Us, expreſſe, That their former errours proceeded from weakneſſe, not from malice. And Our pleaſure is, and We do hereby authorize you Our High Sheriffe to receive all ſuch ſummes of money as ſhall be contributed unto Us, and with the advice of the Juſtices of the peace, who ſhall aſſiſt you in this ſervice, to return the names of all ſuch who ſhall expreſſe their affections to Us this way, as likewiſe of thoſe whoſe ſtubbornneſſe and perverſeneſſe may, in your opinion, have an ill influence upon the peace and quiet of the County. And you ſhall further require all the Trained Bands of that Our County, to ſend in their arms they have been charged with, to Our Magazine at *Cyrenceſter*, within ten dayes after the date of this Our Letter, at their utmoſt peril: and if any men ſhall excuſe themſelves by ſaying, that their arms are already delivered in at *Gloceſter* or *Cyrenceſter*, or any other place, and therefore that they cannot obey Us herein, you ſhall let them know, that We will not conſent that their readineſs to obey thoſe commands which tended to the diſturbance of the peace of that Our County, ſhall be any excuſe for their not obeying Ours, which are for their neceſſary defence and ſafety, and therefore We ſhall expect that every perſon, within that Our County, who is charged with arms, or hath found arms by vertue of the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia*, ſhall within the time prefixed deliver the arms with which he is charged, and ſuch who executed the *Militia*, all their armes into Our ſaid Magazine, except ſuch perſons who ſhall ſufficiently make proofe before you, That their arms were by force and violence taken from them by the ſaid Rebels, and of this you ſhall give Us a particular account; that We well knowing the number of armes that Our County ſtands charged with,

and

and with which private perſons have lately furniſhed themſelves, may judge of their affections by their obedience to theſe commands. Laſtly, becauſe the City of *Glocester*, notwithſtanding Our gracious Proclamation and offer of pardon, doth yet refuſe to yeeld that ſubmiſſion and obedience which is due to Us, whereby We may be compelled to viſit thoſe parts with Our Army, which might elſe be free from thoſe inconveniences, We ſtraitly will and command all Our loving Subjects of that Our County, to forbear, and not to entertain any commerce or traffique with Our ſaid City of *Glocester*, neither by buying or ſelling, or any other offices of Neighbourhood, till the ſame ſhall return to its loyalty and ſubjection; which if it ſhall do, We ſhall receive it into Our protection, and defend it from any aſſaults or violence. And you ſhall cauſe theſe Our Letters to be publickly read in all the Churches and Chappels of that Our County, that all Our Subjects may know the contents thereof, and conform themſelves accordingly.

*Given at Our Court at* Oxford, *Febr.* 12. 1642.

16.

## *To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, *Decemb.* 6. 1642. *From* Oxford.

RIght truſty and right well beloved Couſins and Counſellours, and right truſty and well beloved Councellours, We greet you well. We have lately ſeen a paper preſented to Us by the Earl of *Lynſey*, as a Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, of the 7 of November, to Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; which after many high taxes of Us and Our government, very earneſtly invites, and in a manner challenges aſſiſtance, from that Our native Kingdom, of Men and Arms for making a war againſt Us, making a claim to that aſſiſtance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification, to the which (out of Our deſire to make a perpetual union between Our two Kingdoms, for the happineſſe of both, and by it the more firmly to eſtabliſh Our own greatneſſe and juſt power,) We cheerfully conſented.

As We are at Our ſoul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malitious perſons, ſo far to poſſeſſe the hearts of many of Our Subjects of *England*, as to raiſe this miſerable diſtemper and diſtraction in this Kingdom, againſt all Our real actions and endeavours to the contrary; ſo We are glad that this rage & fury hath ſo far tranſported them, that they apply themſelves in ſo groſſe a manner to Our Subjects of *Scotland*, whoſe experience of Our Religion, Juſtice, and Love of Our people will not ſuffer them to beleeve thoſe horrid ſcandals laid upon Us; and their affection, loyalty, and jealouſie of Our honour, will diſdain to be made inſtruments

ſtruments to oppreſſe their native Soveraign, by aſſiſting an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted Our Subjects of that Kingdom, with the accidents and circumſtances which have diſquieted this: how (after all the acts of juſtice, grace, and favour, performed on Our part, which were, or could be deſired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous aſſemblies, from Our City of *London*, & Our two Houſes of Parliament: How attempts have been made to impoſe Laws upon Our Subjects without Our conſent, contrary to the foundation, & conſtitution of this Kingdom. How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were ſeized and taken from Us by force, and imployed againſt Us: Our Revenue and ordinary ſubſiſtance wreſted from Us. How We have been purſued with ſcandalous and reproachful language; bold, falſe, and ſeditious Paſquils, and Libels publickly allowed againſt Us; and bin told that We might, without want of modeſty and duty, be Depoſed. Now after all this (before any force raiſed by Us) an Army was raiſed, and a General appointed to lead that Army againſt Us, with a Commiſſion to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy all ſuch who ſhould be faithful to Us. That when We had been by theſe means compelled with the aſſiſtance of Our good Subjects to raiſe an Army for Our neceſſary defence, We ſent diverſe gracious Meſſages, earneſtly deſiring that the calamities and miſeries of a civil War might be prevented by a Treaty, and ſo We might know the grounds of this miſunderſtanding. How We were abſolutely refuſed to be treated with: & how at laſt the Army (raiſed, as was pretended, for the defence of Our perſon) was brought into the field againſt Us, gave Us battel, & (though it pleaſed God to give Us the Victory) deſtroyed many of Our good Subjects, with as imminent danger to Our own perſon and Our Children, as the ſkill & malice of deſperate Rebels could contrive:

of all which and the other Indignities which have been offer'd Us, We doubt not the duty and affection of Our Scottiſh Subjects will have ſo juſt a reſentment, that they will expreſſe to the World the ſenſe they have of Our ſufferings. And Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are not, We hope, ſo great Strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and diſtraction is begot and brought upon Us by Our two Houſes of Parliament: (though in truth no unwarrantable action againſt the Law can be juſtified even by that authority.) They well know how the Members of both Honſes have been driven thence, inſomuch, that of above five hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons, there are not now there above eighty, and of above one hundred of the Houſe of Peers, not above fifteen or ſixteen. All which are ſo awed by the multitude of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other perſons, deſperate and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth their conſultations have not the freedom and priviledge which belong to Parliaments.

Concerning any Commiſſions granted by Us to Papiſts to raiſe forces, We muſt refer Our good Subjects to a Declaration lately ſet forth by Us upon the occaſion of that Scandal, which We ſend together with this; and for Our own true and zealous affection to the Proteſtant Religion (the advancement whereof Our ſoul deſires) We can give no other inſtances, then Our conſtant practice, on which Malice it ſelf can lay no blemiſh; and thoſe many Proteſtations We have made in the ſight of Almighty God, to whom We know We ſhall be deerly accountable, if We fail in the obſervation.

For that ſcandalous imputation of Our intention of bringing in Forraign Forces, as the ſame is raiſed without the leaſt colour or ſhadow of reaſon, and ſolemnly diſavowed by Us in many of Our Declarations; ſo there cannot be a clearer argument to Our

Subjects

Subjects of *Scotland* that We have no ſuch thought, then that We have hitherto forborn to require the aſſiſtance of that Our native Kingdom, from whoſe obedience, duty, and affection We ſhould confidently expect it, if We thought Our own ſtrength here too weak to preſerve Us; and of whoſe courage and loyalty We ſhall look to make uſe, before We ſhall think of any Forraign aid to ſuccour Us. And We know no reaſonable or underſtanding man can ſuppoſe Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this predended Declaration; when it is ſo evidently provided for by that Act, That as the Kingdom of *England* ſhall not make war againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without conſent of the Parliament of *England*, ſo the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall not make war againſt the Kingdom of *England*, without the conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*: and when they have alwayes declared themſelves ſo carefully of Our Honour, Safety, and juſt Rights, which now undergo ſo great violation.

This We have thought fit to ſay upon occaſion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of Our Privy Councel of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be communicated and publiſhed to all Our loving Subjects there; and if the grave counſel and advice, which you derived hither by your Act of the 22 of April laſt, had been followed here, in a tender care of Our Royal perſon, and of Our Princely greatneſſe and authority, then would not this face of Confuſion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdom: And therefore Wee require you to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to enform Our Subjects of that Our Kingdom, of the truth of Our condition, and that you ſuffer not the ſcandals and imputations laid on Us, by the malice and treaſon of ſome men, to make any impreſſion in the minds of Our people,

to the leſſening or corrupting their affection and loyalty to Us; but that you aſſure them the hardneſſe We now undergo, and the Armes We have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of Our perſon, and ſafety of Our life, for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, for the preſervation of the Laws, Liberties, & conſtitution of this Kingdom, and for the juſt priviledges of Parliament: and We look no longer for the bleſſing of Heaven, then We endeavour the defence and advancement of all theſe: and We doubt not a dutiful concurrenee in Our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of Our Honour and juſt Rights, will draw down a bleſſing on that Nation too.

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17.

*To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, *Sept.* 18. 1642. *From* Stratford.

C. R.

RIght truſty and well beloved Couſins and Councellours, right truſty, and truſty and well beloved Councellours, and truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that upon petition of the Commiſſioners from Our late generall Aſſembly, Our Councel thought fit that you ſhould meet, for diſcharge of that truſt impoſed on you by Us and Our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be uſed to prevent ſuch troubles and diviſions as may interrupt or endanger the comnion peace of Our Kingdoms; And as it ought to be the continual ſtudy and care, of all good and pious Princes to preſerve their people; ſo certainly it is the duty of all loyal and faithful Subjects to maintain the greatneſſe and juſt authority of their Princes; ſo that without this reciprocal endeavour, there can be no happineſſe for the Prince, nor ſecurity for the people. We are confident Our late actions in *Scotland*, will to all poſterity

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be an acceptable witneſſe of Our care in preſerving the liberty of theſe Our Subjects, and Our deſire to ſettle a perfect peace in that Our Kingdom: And We are as confident, that the many good Acts We have paſt here ſince the down-ſitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but ſuch as denied Us any power at all, and were never ſo much as demanded from any of Our Predeceſſours) will bear the like teſtimony of Our affection to the good and peace of this Kingdom, though the ſucceſſe hath not bin alike. For though We have uſed Our beſt endeavours to prevent the preſent diſtractions and threatning dangers, yet ſo prevalent have been the oppoſers of Us, and the peace of Our Kingdoms, as not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by Our ſeveral Meſſages We have deſcended to demand and preſſe it) unleſſe upon ſuch conditions as would, either by taking all power of government from Us, make Us as no King, or by forceing Us to quit the protection of ſuch, as (for obeying Us according to Law and their Oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors, and ſo make Us do an act unworthy of a King: Yet ſo deſirous We are to ſave Our Subjects blood, (which cannot but be prodigally ſpent, if We be neceſſitated by force of armes to decide their unhappy differences) that no ſooner any ſuch Treaty ſhall be offered unto Us by them (which with honour and ſafety We can receive) but We ſhall cheerfully embrace it. This We have thought fit to acquaint you withall, that from Our ſelves you may know Our love to peace: and We doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce ſomething which will witneſs your tender reſpect to Our Honour and ſafety. And ſo much do We confide in your affections, as We ſhall abſolutely leave the wayes and means of expreſſing it to your ſelves. So We bid you heartily farewel.

*From Our Court at* Stafford *the* 18 *of Septemb.* 1642.

18.

*To the Privy Councel of* Scotland, *Octob.* 13. 1642. *From* Bridgenorth.

*C. R.*

RIght truſty and well beloved Couſins, and Councellours, right truſty, and truſty and well beloved Councellours, and truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. By your Letter the 29 of September We conceive how ſenſible you are of the preſent diſtractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any then to Our Self: But ſeeing all the means We could poſſibly uſe for the removal thereof are (by the practiſes of ſuch as ſtudy diviſion) prevented, and all Our offers of treating (in a fair way to ſettle theſe diſtempers) ſlighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintainance of the Liberties of the Subject, the priviledges of Parliament, and Our juſt, and ever till now unqueſtioned authority neceſſitated to put Our Self in the poſture We are now in, and We ſhall no further beg a bleſſing from God on Our proceedings, then We intend the preſervation of theſe.

As for your reſolution of ſending here ſome of your number. We ſee no reaſon why they ſhould apprehend any danger in their repair to Us; for they may be confident to have a ſafe and free acceſſe to Our perſon, which We have never denied to any of Our good Subjects who repaired to Us in a dutiful manner, and were not out of Our protection. Therefore We conceive the granting of a ſafe conduct to any ſuch, abſolutely non-neceſſary: But if they apprehend any danger from the preſent diſorders of this Kingdom, and Armies now on foot, We will grant ſuch a paſſe both for their coming and return, as

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We ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or ſervants for paſſing through Our Garriſons Towns or Armies: which We doubt not will both ſecure them, and ſatisfie you. So We bid you heartily farewel. *From Our Court at* Bridgenorth *the* 13 *of October*, 1642.

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19.

*To the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Councel of* Briſtol, *about Mr.* Yeomans, *and Mr.* Bourchier, *&c. May* 29. 1643. *From* Oxford.

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We are informed that by the power and authority of certain factious and rebellious perſons in that Our City of *Briſtol*, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely *Robert Yeomans, George Bourchier, William Yeomans, Edward Dacres* and others) of that Our City are impriſoned for preſerving their duty and loyalty to Us, and for refuſing to joyn in, or aſſiſt this horrid and odious Rebellion againſt Us, and that the ſaid wicked and traiterous perſons, have preſumed to condemn the ſaid innocent men to dye, and upon ſuch their ſentence notoriouſly againſt the Lawes of God and Man, they intend to execute and murther Our ſaid Subjects; We have thought fit to ſignifie to you the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the reſt of the body of the Councel of that Our City, that if you ſuffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the perſons aforeſaid, and thereby call the juſt judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that Our City, We ſhall look upon it, as the moſt barbarous and inhumane act, that hath been yet committed againſt Us, and upon you, as the moſt deſperate betrayers of Us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And We do therefore will

will and command you, not to ſuffer any violence to be done upon the perſons aforeſaid, but that if any ſuch be attempted againſt them, that you raiſe all the power and ſtrength of that Our City for their reſcue, and to that purpoſe We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and aſſiſt you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands: and that you and they kill and ſlay all ſuch who ſhall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our ſaid Subjects, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. And hereof you may not fail at your utmoſt peril. *Given at Our Court at* Oxford *the 29 of May, 1643.*

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20.

## *To the City of* Glouceſter, *A Summons, With their Anſwer, Auguſt* 10. 1643.

OUt of Our tender compaſſion to Our City of *Glouceſter*, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which We cannot prevent, if We be compelled to aſſault it, We are perſonally come before it to require the ſame, and are graciouſly pleaſed to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other perſons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That if they ſhall immediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver this Our City to Us, We are contented freely and abſolutely to pardon every one of them without exception; and do aſſure them in the word of a KING, that they nor any of them ſhall receive the leaſt damage or prejudice by Our Army in their perſons, or eſtates; but that We will appoint ſuch a Governour, and a moderate Garriſon to reſide there, as ſhall be both for the eaſe and ſecurity of that City and that whole County. But if they ſhall neglect this profer of Grace and Favour, and compel Us by the power

power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God We doubt not We ſhall be eaſily and ſhortly able to do) they muſt thank themſelves for all the calamities and miſeries muſt befal them. To this Meſſage We expect a clear and poſitive Anſwer within two houres after the publiſhing hereof. And by theſe preſents do give leave to any perſons ſafely to repair to, and return from Us whom that City ſhall deſire to employ unto Us in that buſineſſe. And do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſſe accordingly.

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*Auguſt* 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garriſon of *Gloceſter*: unto his gracious Meſſage return this humble Anſwer. That We do keep this City according to our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the uſe of His Majeſty and His Royal poſterity; and do accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly bound to obey the commands of His Majeſty ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament; and are reſolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

De. Wiſe, *Major*, John Brewſter, G. Dawidſſone, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Maſſie, Con. Ferrer, William Luggo, My. Singleton, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, John Scriven, Nich. Webb, Jo. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, Toby Jordan, Hum. Mathewes, Iſaac Dobſon, Edward Gray, Charls Blount, Peter Criſpe, Rob. Backhouſe, Ja. Harcus, Tho. Pury *Jun.* Rob. Stevenſon, Tho. Blayney.

21.

*To the Inhabitants of* Cornwall *a Letter of thanks, Septemb.* 10. 1643. *From* Sudely *Caſtle.*

*C. R.*

WE are ſo highly ſenſible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their zeal for the defence of Our perſon, and the juſt Rights of Our Crown, (in a time when We could contribute ſo little to Our own defence or to their aſſiſtance; in a time when not onely no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable proſecution of their great work againſt ſo potent an Enemy, backt with ſo ſtrong, rich, and populous Cities, and ſo plentifully furniſhed and ſupplied with Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition and proviſion of all kinds. And of the wonderful ſucceſſe with which it hath pleaſed Almighty God (though with the loſſe of ſome moſt eminent perſons who ſhall never be forgotten by Us) to reward their loyalty and patience by many ſtrange victories over their and Our Enemies, in deſpight of all humane probability, and all imaginable diſadvantages; that as We cannot be forgetful of ſo great deſerts, ſo We cannot but deſire to publiſh to all the World, and perpetuate to all Time the memory of their merits, and of Our acceptance of the ſame. And to that end, We do hereby render Our Royal thanks to that Our County, in the moſt publick and moſt laſting manner We can deviſe, commanding Copies hereof to be printed and publiſhed, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and

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to be kept for ever as a Record in the ſame, That as long as the Hiſtory of theſe Times, and of this Nation ſhall continue, the memory of how much that County hath merited from Us and Our Crown, may be derived with it to poſterity.

*Given at Our Camp at* Sudely-*Caſtle the tenth of September,* 1643.

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22.

*To the Earl of* Eſſex *at* Leſtithiel, *with another Letter to him from the Officers of the Kings Army, Auguſt 6.* 1644. *From* Liskard *in* Cornwall.

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there ſhold be ſuch a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy ſettlement of this miſerable Kingdom, (which all good men deſire) you would lay hold of it. That ſeaſon is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeem your Countrey and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the higheſt degree, (an Action certainly of the greateſt piety, prudence and honour) ſuch an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you ſhall have. To which there is no more required, but that you joyn with Me heartily and really, in the feeling of thoſe things which We have both profeſſed conſtantly to be Our onely aimes. Let Us do this, and if any ſhall be ſo fooliſhly unnatural as to oppoſe their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods bleſſing) even againſt their wills. The onely impediment can be want of mutual confidence; I promiſe it you on My part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it in yours, by my Letter to *Hertford* from *Exeſtant.* I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do)

do) I ſhall have engag'd unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that bleſſed work, I ſhall give both to you and your Army ſuch eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as ſhall not leave a room for the leaſt diſtruſt amongſt you, either in relation to the publick, or to your ſelf, unto whom I ſhall then be

*Liskard* Aug. 6. 1644. *Your faithful Friend.*

*If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whoin I have fully inſtructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.* C.R.

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*My Lord,*

WE having obtained his Majeſties leave to ſend this to your Lordſhip, ſhall not repeat the many gracious Meſſages, Endeavours, and Declarations which His Majeſty hath made, and have been ſo ſolemnly proteſted in the preſence of God and Men, That we wonder how the moſt ſcrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and Royal performance of them. But we muſt before this approaching occaſion tell your Lordſhip, that we bear armes for this end onely, to defend His Majeſties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, the priviledge of the Parliament, and the true Proteſtant Religion, againſt Popery and popiſh Innovations: And this being the profeſſed cauſe of your Lordſhips taking armes, we are confident, that concurring in the ſame opinions and pretences, we ſhall not by an unnatural war weaken the main ſtrength of this Kingdom, and advance the deſigne of our common Enemies, who long ſince have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the Exigent of the time will not ſuffer us to make any laboured Declarations of our Intentions, but onely this, That on the Faith of Subjects,

jects, the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our lives maintain that which His Majesty shall publickly promise in order to a bloodlesse peace, nor shall it be in the power of any private person to divert this resolution of ours, and the same we expect from you: And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be neglected, (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own, but onely touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) That what calamities shall oppresse posterity, will lie heavy on the souls and consciences of those that shall decline this Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to make again, if this Conjuncture be let go: And therefore it is desired that your Lordship, and six other persons may meet our General to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall finde that any way inconvenient, to come in person, That then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be employed by your Lordship, We do engage our Faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your very speedy Answer, which must be a guide to our proceedings. Concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the successe, so we rest

From the Army the 8 of *August* 1644.

*Your Lordships humble Servants,*

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton, Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Jos. Bamfeild,

feild, Anth. Thelwel, Joh. Owen, Tho. Stradling, Robert Howard, John Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert Armeſtrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat, Jo. Browne, Ad. Scroope, Amy Pollard, Ja. Hamilton, Richard Thornil, Jo. Topping, Ja. Dundaſſe, Gyles Strangeways, R. Smith, James Cary, Brainford, Percey, Jacob. Aſteley, Rich. Cave. Bar. Stewart, Barnard Aſteley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey, Tho. Blackwel, Tho. Bellingham, Richard Page, Bar. Jenckes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding, Tho. Weſton, Paul Smith, G. Mouldſworth, Phil. Honywood, Tho. Culpeper, William Leake, Jo. Luntler, Jo. Monck, Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuell, Arth. Slingſby, Geo. Goring, Joſeph Wagſtaffe, Tho. Baſſet, Char. Lloyd, Geo. Liſley, Will. Saint-Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Hen. Shelley, Tho. Paulet, Thom. Kyrton, Anth. Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Cha. Compton, Ed. Nott, Alex. Standiſh, Jo. Ridech, Jo. Steward, Jo. Gambling, Jo. Grienvile, Arth. Heninghan, James Haſwel, W. Maxwell.

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23.

*To Prince* Rupert, *after the loſſe of* Briſtol, *Auguſt* 3. 1645. *From* Cardiffe.

*C. R.*

NEphew, this is occaſioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of *Richmond* ſhewed Me yeſternight. And firſt I aſſure you, I have been, and ever will be very careful to advertiſe you of My reſolutions, ſo ſoon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned ſilence to that which was no ſecret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am ſure it ought to have been ſo. Now as for your opinion of My buſineſſe, and your councel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of My Religion, Crown, and Friends,

Friends, you had full reaſon for your advice. For I confeſſe that ſpeaking either as a meer Souldier or Stateſman, I muſt ſay there is no probability, but of My ruine; yet as a Chriſtian I muſt tell you, that God will not ſuffer Rebels and Traytors to proſper, nor this cauſe to be overthrown. And whatſoever perſonal puniſhment it ſhall pleaſe Him to inflict upon Me, muſt not make Me repine, much leſſe give over this quarrel; and there is as little queſtion that a compoſition with them at this time, is nothing elſe but a ſubmiſſion, which by the grace of God I am reſolved againſt whatſoever it coſt Me; for I know My obligation to be both in conſcience and honour, neither to abandon Gods cauſe, injure My Succeſſours, nor forſake My friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My ſelf with expectation of good ſucceſſe, more then this, to end My dayes with honour and a good conſcience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not deſpairing, that God may yet in due time avenge his own cauſe, though I muſt aver to all My friends, that he that will ſtay with Me at this time, muſt expect and reſolve, either to dye for a good cauſe, or (which is worſe) to live as miſerable in maintaining it, as the violence of inſulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially ſtated My caſe unto you, and plainly told you My reſolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly or ſuddenly grounded, I earneſtly deſire you not in any wiſe to hearken now after treaties, aſſuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more then was offered in My Name at *Uxbrige*, confeſſing that it were as great a miracle that they ſhould agree to ſo much reaſon, as that I ſhould be within a month in the ſame condition that I was immediately before the battel at *Naſeby*. Therefore for Gods ſake let Us not flatter Our ſelves with theſe conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination, that you are deſirous of a Treaty, will but loſe Me ſo much the ſooner:

Wherefore

Wherefore as you love Me, whatſoever you have already done, apply your diſcourſe hereafter according to My reſolution and judgement.

As for the *Iriſh*, I aſſure you they ſhall not cheat Me, but it is poſſible they may cozen themſelves: for be aſſured, what I have refuſed to the *Engliſh*, I will not grant to the *Iriſh* Rebels, never truſting to that kind of people (of what Nation ſoever) more then I ſee by their actions. And I am ſending to *Ormond* ſuch a diſpatch, as I am ſure will pleaſe you and all honeſt-Men, a copy whereof by the next opportunity you ſhall have. Laſtly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great eſtimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendſhip too.

*Charls R.*

*Cardiffe, Auguſt* 3. 1645.

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25.

*To the Marqueſſ of* Ormond, *June* 11. 1646.
*From* Newcaſtle.

C. R.

RIght truſty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the ſad condition Our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in theſe divers yeers through the wicked and deſperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have enſued thereupon; for the ſetling whereof We would have wholly applied Our Selves, if the difference betwixt Us and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Us: and not having

having been able by force (for that reſpect) to reduce them, We were neceſſitated for the preſent ſafety of Our Proteſtant Subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them, upon ſuch pious, honourable, and ſafe grounds as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require. But for many reaſons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the Rebels, nor ſo engage Us upon any conditions with them after ſight hereof. And having formerly found ſuch real proofs of your ready obedience to Our commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our ſervice and the good of Our Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, is ſo much concerned.

*From* Newcaſtle, *June* 11, 1646.

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26.

*To the Governours of His* Majeſties *Garriſons, June* 10. 1646. *From* Newcaſtle.

THis is added to His Majeſties twenty fourth Meſſage for peace, where the Reader may finde it.

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## 26.

## To *the Duke of* York, *July* 4. 1647. *From* Cawſham.

*C. R.*

*JAMES*, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Siſter, to come to ſome place, betwixt this and *London*, where I may ſee you.

To this end therefore, I command you, to aſk leave of the two Houſes, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather then not to ſee you; I will be content that ye come to ſome convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreſeeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this My deſire:

I have full aſſurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them, for your return, how, and when ye pleaſe. *So God bleſſe you.*

*Caſam, July* 4. 1647.

*Your loving Father,*
*Charls R.*

### POST-SCRIPT.

Send Me word as ſoon as you can of the time, and place, where I ſhall have the contentment of ſeeing you, your Brother, and Siſter.

27.

## To the Marqueſſe of Ormond, April 3. 1646. From Oxford.

The Reader is to take notice, that this Letter and the next, ſhould have come in after the 23, as appears by their date.

*C. R.*

RIght truſty, and entirely beloved Couſin, and Councellour, We greet you well. Having uſed all poſſible and honourable means, by ſending many gracious Meſſages to the two Houſes of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore deſired, and deſire from them nothing but what they themſelves (ſince theſe unhappy wars) have offered, to procure Our perſonal Treaty with them for a ſafe and well grounded peace: and having in ſtead of a dutifull and peaceable return to Our ſaid Meſſages, received either no anſwer at all, or ſuch as argues nothing will ſatisfie them, but the ruine not onely of Us, Our Poſterity, and Friends, but even of Monarchy it ſelf: And having lately received very good ſecurity, that We, and all that do or ſhall adhere to Us, ſhall be ſafe in Our perſons, honours, and conſciences, in the Scottiſh Army, and that they ſhall really and effectually joyn with Us, and with ſuch as will come in unto Us, and joyn with them for Our preſervation, and ſhall imploy their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt Us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace for the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the recovery of Our juſt Right, We have reſolved to put Our ſelves to the hazard of paſſing into the Scots Army now lying before *Newark*: And if it ſhall pleaſe God that We come ſafe thither, We are reſolved to uſe Our

Our beſt endeavour with their aſſiſtance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe*, and ſuch of Our well-affected Subjects of *England* as ſhall riſe for Us, to procure it may be an honourable and ſpeedy peace, with thoſe who hitherto refuſed to give ear to any meanes tending thereunto: of which Our reſolution We held it neceſſary to give you this advertiſement, as well to ſatisfie you and all Our Councel and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate theſe Our Letters) yet failing in Our earneſt and ſincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miſeries of theſe Kingdoms, We eſteemed Our Self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preſerve Our Crown and Friends, from the uſurpation and tyranny of thoſe, whoſe actions declare ſo manifeſtly their deſignes, to overthrow the Laws and happy eſtabliſhed government of this Kingdom. And now We have made known to you Our reſolution, We recommend to your ſpecial care the diſpoſing and managing of Our affairs on that ſide, as that you ſhall conceive moſt for Our honour and ſervice, being confident the courſe We have taken (though with ſome hazard to Our perſon) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels tranſporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom. And We deſire you to ſatisfie all Our well affected Subjects on that ſide, of Our Princely care of them, whereof they ſhall receive the effect, as ſoon as God ſhall enable Us. We deſire you to uſe ſome means to let Us and Our Councel at *Oxon* hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And ſo God proſper your Loyal Endeavours.

*Given at Our Court at* Oxon, *April* 1646.

To

28.

*To the* Prince *of* Wales, *June* 2. 1646.
*From* Newcaſtle.

*Charls,*

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, then at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in Religion; concerning which, I am confident, ſhe will not trouble you; and ſee that you go not any whether, without her or My particular directions. Let Me hear often from you, and ſo, God bleſſe you.

*Newcaſtle, June* 2. 1646.

*Your loving Father,*

*Charls R.*

If *Jack Aſhburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont, until I ſhall ſend for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not, he muſt wait on her.

Oliver Maynel.
Lanerick.

Superſcribed,
*For My Son the Prince.*

29.

## *To Colonel* Whaley, *November* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court.

COlonel *Whaley*; I have been ſo civilly uſed by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewel acknowledge it under My hand; as alſo to deſire the continuance of your courteſie, by your protecting of My Houſhold-ſtuff and Moveables of all ſorts, which I leave behinde Me in this Houſe, that they be neither ſpoiled nor imbeſled: Onely there are three Pictures here which are not mine, that I deſire you to reſtore; to wit My Wives Picture in blew ſitting in a Chair, you muſt ſend to Mrs. *Kirk*. My eldeſt daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Counteſſe of *Angleſey*, and my Lady *Stannops* Picture to *Cary Rawley*; there is a fourth which I had almoſt forgot, it is the Original of My eldeſt Daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next to the Chimney) which you muſt ſend to my Lady *Aubigny*. So being confident that you wiſh My preſervation and reſtitution, I reſt

*Your Friend,*

*CHARLS R.*

I Aſſure you it was not the Letter you ſhewed Me to day, that made Me take this reſolution, nor any advertiſement of that kinde; But I confeſſe that I am loath to be made a cloſe priſoner, under pretence of ſecuring My life. I had almoſt forgot to deſire you to ſend the black Grew Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

*To*

30.

*To the Lord* Mountague, *Novemb.* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court: *with a Letter from* E.R. *to His Majeſty, Nov.* 9. 1647.

MOuntague, Firſt I do hereby give you and the reſt of your fellows thanks for the civilities and good converſation that I have had from you; next I command you to ſend this My Meſſage (which you will finde upon this Table) to the two Houſes of Parliament, and likewiſe to give a copy of it to Colonel *Whaley*, to be ſent to ſend to the General: likewiſe I deſire you to ſend all My Saddle-Horſes to My Son the Duke of *York*: as for what concerns the reſolution that I have taken, My declaratory Meſſage ſayes ſo much that I refer you to it, and ſo I reſt

*Your aſſured Friend,*

*Charls R.*

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*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IN diſcharge of My duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that My Brother was at a meeting laſt night with eight or nine Agitators, who in debate of the Obſtacle which did moſt hinder the ſpeedy effecting of their deſignes, did conclude it was your Majeſty, and as long as your Majeſty doth live you would be ſo; and therefore reſolved, for the good of the Kingdom, to take your life away; and that to that action they were well aſſured, that Maſter *Dell*, and Maſter *Peters* (two of their Preachers) would willingly bear them company; for they had often ſaid to theſe Agitators, your Majeſty is but a dead Dog: My prayers are for your Majeſties ſafety; but do too much fear it cannot be whileſt you are in thoſe hands.

I wiſh with my ſoul Your Majeſty were at my houſe in *Broadſtreet*, where I am confident I could keep You private till this ſtorm were over, but beg Your Majeſties pardon, and ſhall not preſume to offer it as an advice; it is onely my conſtant zeal to Your Service, who am

*Your Majeſties dutiful Subject,*

Novemb. 9. 1647. E.R.

31.

*To Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.* 26. 1647. *From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

C. R.

HAving left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a copy ſhould be given you, of what We had then written to both Houſes of Parliament touching the cauſes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our reſolutions to improve every occaſion of the ſatisfaction of all chief intereſts, that ſo a happy peace may be ſetled in Our Dominions: In purſuance whereof, We have lately ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes from this place, and a copy of it to you: and being deſirous in order to that bleſſed work, to give you Our preſent ſenſe upon the condition of affairs as they now ſtand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barckley* to repair unto you, and to communicate the ſame to you: And We ſhall be glad by him to receive a mutual communication of your ſenſe alſo, upon this ſubject; not doubting, but you eaſily perceive by the late diſorders, into what a depth of confuſion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectual preventions be not uſed, and therefore We have now again propoſed (as the onely expedient) a perſonal Treaty, for the compoſing of all differences, and fulfilling the deſires of all intereſts, to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the bleſſings of God upon

upon your endeavours therein; ſo may you juſtly look for the beſt return that ever Our condition ſhall be able to make you.

*Given at* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *Novemb.*26.1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.

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32.

*To Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.*27.1647. *From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

*C. R.*

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded Us to have of the uſe of Our Chaplains, makes Us, at this time not onely to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewiſe now to acquaint you that three of Our Chaplains, to wit, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, and Dr. *Haywood*, are newly landed in this Iſle, not doubting but they ſhall have the ſame protection that formerly they had, which ſtill will ſhew the continuation of your good reſpect unto Us, which We upon all fitting occaſions ſhall not be backward to acknowledge. So We bid you heartily farewel.

*Given at* Carisbrook-Caſtle, *Novemb.*27.1647.

*For Sir* Thomas Fairfax *General.*

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33

*To the Lords, Gentlemen, and Committee, of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army, July* 3. 1648. *From* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

MY Lords and Gentlemen: it is no ſmal comfort to Me, that My Native Countrey hath ſo true a ſenſe of My preſent condition, as I finde expreſſed by your Letter of the eighth of this moneth; and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday laſt, and the very ſame reaſon which makes you Diſcreetly and Generouſly at this time, forbear to preſſe any thing to Me, hinders Me likewiſe to make any particular profeſſions unto

you, leſt it may be imagined that deſire of liberty ſhould now be the onely Secretary to My thoughts: Yet thus much I cannot but ſay; that, as in all humane Reaſon, nothing but a *free perſonal Treaty* with Me, can ſettle the unhappy Diſtractions of theſe diſtreſſed Kingdoms: So, if that could once be had, I would not doubt, but, that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would ſoon follow. Such force (I believe) true Reaſon has in the hearts of all Men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not aſhamed, at all times to profeſſe, that it hath, and ſo ſhall be alwayes want of underſtanding, not of will, if I do not yeeld to Reaſon, whenſoever, and from whomſoever I hear it: and it were a ſtrange thing, if Reaſon ſhould be leſſe eſteemed, becauſe it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you: your Declaration ſeeming to Me, (and I hope your actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be ſo well grounded upon *Honour* and *Juſtice*; that albeit by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clauſe in it; Yet I am confident upon a calm and friendly Debate, We ſhall very well agree. To conclude; I cannot (for the preſent) better ſhew My thankfulneſſe to you, for the generous and loyal expreſſions of your affections to Me, then by giving you My honeſt and ſincere advice; which is, really and conſtantly, without ſeeking private ends, to purſue the publick profeſſions in your Declaration, as ſincere Chriſtians and good Subjects ought to do, alwayes remembring, that as the beſt foundation of Loyalty is Chriſtianity; ſo true Chriſtianity teaches perfect Loyalty; for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be: But I am bold confident that needs not to you, as likewiſe that you will rightly underſtand this, which is affectionately intended by your aſſured Friend, *C.R.*

*Carisbrock, Monday* 31 *July* 1648.

*His*

# His MAjESTIES PRIVATE LETTERS to the QVEEN and others:

With the QUEENS Letters to His MAJESTY, Intercepted and Publiſhed by the Parliament: With His MAJESTIES Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS concerning the publiſhing of them, and part of one of His MAJESTIES Declarations concerning the ſame.

Wherein do evidently appear to His MAJESTIES Honour (contrary to the intention of the firſt publiſhers) His *Majeſties* Princely Wiſdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of His publick profeſſions; and that His ends were onely the peace and happineſſe of His Subjects, by their ſubmiſſion to His juſt Regal Power.

## *His* Majeſties *Letter to Secretary* Nicholas, *concerning the Parliaments intercepting and publiſhing His Letters.*

*Cardiffe, Aug.*4.1645.

*Nicholas,*

HAving commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of Our proceedings here, as reſolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My Self with repetitions; onely for My Self, I muſt deſire you to let every one know, that no diſtreſſes of Fortune whatſoever, ſhall make Me by the grace of God, in any thing recede from thoſe grounds I laid down to you who were My Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have publiſhed in print: and though I could have wiſhed their pains had been ſpared, yet I will neither deny that thoſe things are Mine, which they have ſet out in My Name, (only ſome words here and there are miſtaken, and ſome Comma's miſplaced, but not much material) nor as a good Proteſtant or honeſt man, bluſh for any of thoſe papers. Indeed, as a diſcreet man I will not juſtifie My Self; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly ſeen, as mine have now been. However, ſo that one clauſe be rightly underſtood, I care not much though the reſt take their Fortune: It is concerning the Mungrel Parliament. The truth is, that *Suſſex* his factiouſneſſe at that time, put Me ſomewhat out of patience, which made Me freely vent My diſpleaſure againſt thoſe of his party to My Wife: and the intention of that phraſe was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raiſing and fomenting of baſe Propoſitions. This is clearly evidenced, by My following excuſe to her, for ſuffering thoſe people to trouble her

her, the reaſon being to eſchew thoſe greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cauſe here, then there. I am now going to ſupper, and ſo I reſt *Your moſt aſſurd Friend,*

*C. R.*

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*Part of His* Majeſties *Declaration of June* 3. 1643. *concerning ſome of the ſaid Letters intercepted and publiſhed* 1643.

BUt they have found a Letter of His Majeſties to the Queen, which ſhews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom are diſpoſed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by conſequence diſpoſed of by the advice of Papiſts and Jeſuits) and that the perſons there named, even during the ſitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms againſt them. To this His Majeſty replyes: 1. That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom when Letters of all ſorts of Husbands to Wives, even of His Majeſty to His Royal Conſort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publiſht to the World. 2. That if they will remember how far many of thoſe perſons of both Sexes, who have received moſt notable marks of favour from her Majeſty, are, even in their own opinion, from ſo much as inclining to Popery, they muſt confeſſe her favours and recommendations not to be diſpoſed of by Prieſts and Jeſuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majeſties advice may ſeem to be deſired, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treaſurer of the Houſehold, a Captain of the Penſioners, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; That concerning the other more publick places; His Majeſty abſolutely declares Himſelf, without leaving

ving room for her advice, which seems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the persons there named, there is not one that either is a Papist, or so like one, that a Jesuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord *Digby*) that was either impeacht, or otherwise taxt, or that could appear to His Majesty to have ever been in any degree dislikt by both or either House, before assisting His Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazeled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six Horses for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which hath usually been paid to accusations of that kinde: And for their bearing of arms in such a time, wherein all His Majesties Subjects do either bear or assist arms either for or against Him, He supposes that it wil not be thought strange, if He chuse persons for such places as are in His own disposal, rather out of the first sort then out of the second.

And as His Majesty hath fully answered their Observations upon His Letters, so He believes that one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by His people; and that is, That in His Majesties most private Letters, to the person neareſt to Him, wherein He cannot (as by some in His publick Declarations He is) be suspected to say any thing out of designe or policy, His own clear perswasion, that the Rebels, and not He, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this War and universal distraction, and His sense of it, and His desire of the end of it, are so plainly expreſt, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and beleeve that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in His Heart.

To

I.

*To the* Queen, *January* 23. 1642. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, Saturday and Sunday laſt, I received two from thee, of the 29 of *December*, 9 of *January*, both which, gave Me ſuch contentment, as thou mayeſt better judge, then I deſcribe; the which, that thou mayeſt the better do, know, I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, beſides skurvy *London* news of thy ſtay and lameneſſe, which though I did not believe, yet it vext Me ſo much the more, that I could not prove them liars: So now I conjure thee by the affections thou beareſt Me, not onely to judge, but likewiſe participate with Me in the contentment thou haſt given Me by aſſuring Me of thy health and ſpeedy return, concerning 45.31.7.4.132.300. I will anſwer thee in thy own words, *Je le remetteray a vous reſpondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment: in the mean time aſſure thy Self, That I neither have, nor will loſe any time in that buſineſſe, and that I have not contented My Self with Generals: and though I hope ſhortly to have the happineſſe of thy company, yet I muſt tell thee of ſome particulars in which I deſire both thy opinion and aſſiſtance: I am perſecuted concerning places, & all deſire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them: and yet thou knoweſt I have no reaſon to do it; *Newark* deſireth *Savills* place, upon condition, to leave it when his father dieth; *Carenworth*, the ſame; being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I pleaſe: *Digby* and *Dunſmore*, for to be Captain of the Pentioners, *Hartford* once looked after it; but now I believe he expects either to be Treaſurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter if thou like it, for I abſolutely hold *Cot-*

*tington*,

*tington* the fitteſt man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deſerve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I deſire thy aſſiſtance to finde ſome what for him before he ask. One place I muſt fill before I can have thy opinion, It is the Maſter of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou wilt not miſlike My choice; and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* muſt be Secretary, for indeed, I can truſt no other. Now I have no more time to ſpeak of more, but to deſire thee not to engage thy Self for any:

Dated *Oxford.* So I reſt eternally thine,

20 *Feb.* 23 *Jan.*

C. R.

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2.

*To the* Queen, *March* 2. 1642. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, Though ever ſince Sunday laſt, I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certain news thereof, before yeſterday, when I likewiſe underſtood of thy ſafe coming to *York*: I hope thou expectſt not welcome from Me in words, but when I ſhall be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expreſſing My love to thee, then, let all honeſt men hate & eſchew Me, like a Monſter: and yet when I ſhall have done My part, I confeſſe, that I ſhall come ſhort of what thou deſerveſt of Me.

*H.* 3. 189. *e* 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. *a* 1. 45. 31 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. *d* 4. *g.* 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. *deer* 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. *this a* 2. 324. *in the mean time* 46. 31. 7. 50. *e* 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. *upon* 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there was Articles of a Cessation brought Me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction: I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by My next, I mean to send thee, 219. *b* 3. 58. 51. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. *g* 1. 173 131. *which I think fit to be done*, *a* 5. 4. 30. 3. *n* 5. *d* 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 2. 32. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9. 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 48. *k* 1. *e* 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My service: Since the taking of *Cicester*, there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others; onely this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designes are laid open to Us, We know not which first to undertake: but certainly My first and chiefest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten Our meeting: So longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.

*Oxford*, 12 *March*, 1642.

*C. R.*

THe last I received of thine was dated the $\frac{16}{6}$ *Febr.* and I believe none of My four last are come to thee; their dates are $\frac{11}{3}$ $\frac{21}{13}$ $\frac{25}{15}$ *Feb.* and 20 *Feb.* or *March* 2.

To

3.

## *To the* Queen, *February* 13. 1643.

DEar Heart, I never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the ſtorm, before I had certain aſſurance of thy happy eſcape; We having had a pleaſing falſe report, of thy ſafe landing at *Newcaſtle*, which thine of the 19 of *January* ſo confirmed Us in, that We, at leaſt were not undeceived of that hope, till We knew certainly how great a danger thou haſt paſt, of which I ſhall not be out of apprehenſion, until I may have the happineſſe of thy company, for indeed I think it not the leaſt of My misfortunes, that for My ſake thou haſt run ſo much hazard; in which thou haſt expreſſed ſo much love to Me, that I confeſſe it is impoſſible to repay, by any thing I can do, much leſſe by words; but My heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient paſſion of gratitude to thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 of *February* has bred great diſcourſe in ſeveral perſons, and of ſeveral kindes, as My ſaying I was perſecuted for places, is applyed to all, and onely thoſe that I there name to be Suitors: whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as wel as ſome there mentioned: for I confeſſe 174 and 133 are not guilty of that fault: ſome finde fault with too much kindneſſe to thee (thou maiſt eaſily vote from what conſtellation that comes) but I aſſure ſuch, that I want expreſſion, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occaſions: others preſſe Me as being brought upon the Stage; but I anſwer, that having profeſt to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing

thing before I had it. As for Our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this incloſed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning My part in it, for all the ſouldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done, but expect no ceſſation of arms, for the Lower Houſe will have none without a diſbanding, and I will not diſband till all be agreed: Laſtly, for Our Military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the Weſt they proſper well; as for the North I refer thee to 226, 140 information: ſo daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

*Copy to my Wife* 13 *Febr.* 1643.

Oxford 13 *Febr.* 1643.

a true copy,
*Touche Tate.*

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4.

*To the* Queen, *January* 1. 1644. *Oxford.*

*Oxford*, Jan. 1. 1644.

DEar Heart, I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30 of December, which I cannot ſtay to decipher, for not loſing this opportunity, it likewiſe being a juſt excuſe for this ſhort account: This day I have diſpatched *Digbies* Sec. fully relating the ſtate of Our affairs, therefore I ſhall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, without any of thoſe diſadvantages which might have been apprehended, when *Tom Elliot* went hence, and that the diſtractions of *London* were never ſo great, or ſo likely to bring good effect, is now laſtly that aſſiſtance was never more needful, never ſo likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

*Copy to my Wife* 1 Jan. 1644. by *P. A.*

*This is a true copy, examined by* Miles Corbet.

To

5.

## *To the* Queen, *January* 9. 1644. *Oxford.*

*Oxford*, January 9.

DEar Heart, ſince My laſt, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commiſſioners have ſent to deſire Me to ſend a Commiſſion to the General Aſſembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am reſolved not to do; but to the end of making ſome uſe of this occaſion, by ſending an honeſt man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making an handſome negative, I have demanded a paſſeport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return My anſwer. I forgot in My former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the Speaker brags, that Cardinal *Mazarin* keeps a ſtrict intelligence with him; though I will not ſwear that *Lentall* ſayes true, I am ſure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his inſtructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertiſed from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (beſides four Scotch Commiſſioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular perſons. I am likewiſe newly advertiſed that General *Goring* proſpers well where he is, and ſince Munday laſt hath taken 80 of the Rebels Horſe: and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

*POSTSCRIPT.*

The ſetling of Religion, and the *Militia*, are the firſt to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Epiſcopacy, nor that ſword which God hath given into My hands.

*Copy to my Wife 9 Jan.* 1644. *By* P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

*To*

## 6.

### *To the* Queen, *January* 14. 1644. *Oxford.*

*Dear Heart,*

POoly came the $\frac{11}{21}$ of Januar. to whoſe great diſpatch, though for ſome dayes I cannot give a full anſwer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to ſomething in thy Letter, not without relating to ſomething of his diſcourſe.

As I confeſſe it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from Me, ſo excuſe Me to deny that it can be of ſo ill conſequence as thou mentioneſt, if their affections were ſo real, as they make ſhew of to thee; for the difficulty of ſending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will ſhew My diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of ſending; wherefore if any be neglected more, then Our wits are faulty: but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any fleſh living, that any body here ſhould hide from thee what is deſired that every one ſhould know (excuſe Me to ſay it) is ſuch a folly, that I ſhall not believe that any can think it though he ſay it: And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miſcarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in queſtion; but take heed that theſe diſcourſes be not rather the effect of their wearineſſe of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the propoſal of thy journey to *Ireland*, a pretty inſtance? For ſeriouſly of it ſelf, I hold it one of the moſt extravagant propoſitions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being moſt aſſuredly onely to to expreſſe thy love to Me, and not thy judgement in My affaires:

As

As for the buſineſſe it ſelf, (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to ſhew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it; I have ſent thee the laſt diſpatches, I have ſent concerning it, earneſtly deſiring thee to keep them to thy ſelf, onely thou maiſt in general let the *Q. Regent* and Miniſters there underſtand, that I have offered My Iriſh Subjects ſo good ſatisfaction, that a peace will ſhortly enſue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods ſake let none know the particulars of My diſpatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal Agent (& little to the French) it being by his means that I have ſent thee all My Letters, (beſides expreſſes) ſince I came hither, though I expected moſt from *Sabran*.

'I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, '*Digbies* diſpatch which I have ſeen being ſo full, that 'I can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphraſe a 'little upon that which he cals his ſuperſtitious obſer-'vation: It is this, nothing can be more evident, 'then that *Straffords* innocent blood hath been one of 'the great cauſes of Gods juſt judgements upon this 'Nation by a furious civil war, both ſides hitherto 'being almoſt equally puniſhed, as being in a manner 'equally guilty: but now this laſt crying blood, be-'ing totally theirs; I beleeve it is no preſumption 'hereafter to hope that his hand of juſtice muſt be 'heavier upon them, and lighter upon Us, looking 'now upon Our Cauſe, having paſſed by Our faults.'

This is a true copy examined by *E. Prideaux.*

## 7.

## *To the* Queen, *January* 22. 1644. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart. Since My laſt by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter: That which is now, is the progreſſe of the Treaty, of which, theſe encloſed papers will give thee a full account: but if thou have them ſooner from *London* then Me, thou haſt no reaſon to wonder, conſidering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to ſend by, in reſpect of the other: For the buſineſſe it ſelf, I believe thou wilt approve of My choiſe of Treaters, and for My propoſitions, they differ nothing in ſubſtance (very little in words) from thoſe which were laſt: wherefore I need to ſay nothing of them; and for My inſtructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them: Now upon the whole matter I deſire thee to ſhew the *Q.* and Miniſters there, the improbability that this preſent Treaty ſhould produce a peace, conſidering the great ſtrange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels propoſitions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little aſſiſtance by thy means, will ſoon make them ſo: for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defenſive (which a reaſonable ſum of money would do) they would be eaſily brought to reaſon. Concerning Our *interferings here at Oxford* I deſire thee to ſuſpend thy judgement, (for I beleeve few but partial relations will come to thee) until I ſhall ſend ſome whom I may truſt by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to Us both to ſet them down in paper.

*Copy to my Wife* 22 Jan. 1644.
This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

*To*

8.

*To the* Queen, *January* 30. 1644 *Oxford*

*Dear heart,*

SUnday laſt I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30 *Decemb.* another of the *6 Ian.* and the laſt of the 14 *Ian.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the laſt; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expreſſions of thy confident love of Me, ſo I muſt extreamly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cauſe, (for I believe thou wouldeſt not mention any information from the other ſide) can invent ſuch lies, that thou haſt had ill offices done to Me by any; or that they care for My aſſiſtance, hath been the leaſt ſuſpected, it being ſo far from truth, that the juſt contrary is true. For I proteſt to God I never heard thee ſpoken of, but with the greateſt expreſſions of eſtimation for thy love to Me, and particularly for thy diligent care for My aſſiſtance: But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare ſuſpition. And indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it ſhould be for not taking ſo much care of thine own health as of My aſſiſtance, at leaſt not giving Me ſo often account of it as I deſire; theſe three laſt, making no mention of thy Self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make a peace by abandoning My friends, nor ſuch an one as will not ſtand with My honour and ſafety; of which I will ſay no more, becauſe knowing thy love, I am ſure thou muſt believe Me, and make others likewiſe confident of Me.

I ſend thee herewith My directions to My Commiſſioners, but how I came to make them my Self

without

without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabaliſtical matters. At this time I will ſay no more, but that I ſhall in all things, (onely not anſwering for words) truly ſhew my Self to be eternally thine.

The *Portugal* Agent hath made Me two propoſitions: Firſt, concerning the releaſe of his Maſters Brother, for which I ſhall have 50000 *l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spain*; the other is for a marriage betwixt My Son *Charls* and his Maſters eldeſt Daughter: For the firſt I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will *give ſuch an anſwer as ſhall ſignifie nothing.*

I deſire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* relations, nor much countenance to the Iriſh Agents in *Paris*, the particular reaſons thou ſhalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for My next Meſſenger.) In the laſt place I recommend to thee the care of *Gerſey* and *Gernefey*, it being impoſſible for Us here to do much, though We were rich, being weak at Sea.

*To my Wife*, 30 *Ian.* 164¾. *By* Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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9.

*To the* Queen, *March* 13. 1644. *Oxford.*

*Dear heart,*

WHat I told thee the laſt week concerning a good parting with Our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday laſt handſomely performed, and now if I do any thing unhandſome or diſadvantagious to my Self or friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly My own fault, for I confeſs when I wrote laſt, I was in fear to have been preſſed to make ſome mean overtures to

renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpoſe:) But now I promiſe thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without ſome eminent good ſucceſſe on My ſide) it ſhall be to My honor & advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of baſe and mutinous motions (that is to ſay, Our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them,* Wilmot being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Suſſex* within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know, thou careſt not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences; yet I muſt tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect ſteadineſſe of thy love to Me, I might reaſonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change then an end of their villanies: and I cannot deny, but My confidence in thee, was ſome cauſe of this permiſſive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March; by which thou puts Me in hope of aſſiſtance of Men and Money, and it is no little expreſſion of thy love to Me, that (becauſe of My buſineſſe) Feſtivals are troubleſome to thee; *But I ſee that aſſemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpoſe to make thee weary of their companies, and excuſe Me to tell thee in earneſt, that it is no wonder, that meer Stateſmen ſhould deſire to be rid of thee; therefore I deſire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a perſonal friendſhip with the Queen Regent, (without ſhewing any diſtruſt of her Miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them) and to ſhew her, that when her Regency coms out (and poſſibly before) ſhe may have need of her friends, ſo that ſhe ſhall but ſerve her ſelf by helping of thee: and to ſay no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppreſſe Me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious then ſhe did. In the laſt place I deſire thee, to give Me a weekly-

weekly account of thy health, for I fear leſt in that alone thou takeſt not care enough to expreſſe thy kindneſſe to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better then what We firſt heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montroſſes* victories, *Carlile* and the reſt of Our Northern Garriſons are relieved, and We hope for this year ſecured; and beſides all this, the Northern Horſe are already returned and joyned with My Nephew *Rupert*.

*To my Wife*, 13 *March* 1644. *by* P. A.

*This is a true copy examined by*
*Edmund Prideaux.*

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10.

*To the* Queen, *March* 27. 1645. *Oxford.*

*Oxford, Thurſday* 27 *March.*

DEar Heart, I wrote to thee yeſterday by *Sakefield*, the ſubject of it was onely kindneſſe to thee; which, I aſſure thee ſhall ever be viſible in all My actions: And now I come to *Jermins* account, given Me by thy command, which is very clear, hopefull in moſt particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning thy care and induſtry. As for the main impediment in the D. of *Lorrains* buſineſſe (which is his paſſage) why may thou not procure him paſſage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be ſtuck at) it will much ſecure and facilitate the Sea tranſportation in reſpect of landing on the Weſtern Coaſt, which I believe will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many places to chuſe on, any where elſe. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of My affairs Me thinks begins to mend, the diſſenſions at *London* rather increaſing then ceaſing, *Montroſſe* daily proſpering, My Weſtern

ern buſineſſe mending apace, and hopeful in all the reſt. So that if I had reaſonable ſupplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this year, then I have been ſince this Rebellion began', and poſſibly I may put fair for the whole, and ſo enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And ſo farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to beſtow *Percies* place on the M. of *Newcaſtle*, to whom yet I am no wayes engaged, nor will be before I have thy anſwer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remamber that I gave thee any hope of making of him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I deſire thee to command L. *Jer.* to read to thee the Ds. Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the tranſportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army.

*To my Wife, 27 March* 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

II.

*To the* Queen, *March* 30. 1645. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, ſince my laſt (which was butthr e dayes ago) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather then actions being yet Our chiefeſt buſineſſe, in which We hope that We proceed faſter then the Rebels, whoſe levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very ſlowly; and I believe they are much weaker then is thought, even here at *Oxford*. For inſtance, a very honeſt ſervant of mine, and no Fool, ſhewed Me a propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his propoſition will take effect; it is this, That ſince the Treaty is ſo brokeu off, that neither the Rebels nor I can reſume it without at leaſt a ſeeming total yeelding to the other. The Treaty ſhould be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-aſſurance that the Rebels will ſubmit to reaſon. The anſwer that I permitted My Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fitteſt perſon to be the means of ſo happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this Kingdom; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be *ſatisfied of the Rebels willingneſſe to yeeld to reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch intimation ſhould be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing muſt be inſiſted upon but according to my former offers.* This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertiſe thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this conſequence.

*I muſt again tell thee, That moſt aſſuredly France will be the beſt way for tranſportation of the D. of* Lorraines *Army, there being divers fit and ſafe places of Landing for them upon the Weſtern Coaſts, beſides the Ports under My obedience, as* Shelſey *neer* Chicheſter, *and others, of which I will advertiſe thee when the time comes.*

*By My next I think to tell thee when We ſhall march into the field, for which money is now his greateſt want (I need ſay no more) who is eternally thine.*

To my Wife, March 30. 1645. by *Petit.*

This is a true copy examined by *Edmund Prideaux.*

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12.

*To the* Queen, *April 9.* 1645. *Oxford.*

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I ſent to thee by *Pooly.*

*Dear Heart*

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow Meſſenger, yet all occaſions, of this (which is now the only) way of converſing with thee, is ſo welcom to Me as I ſhall be loath to loſe any; expect neither news or publick buſines, from Me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by My Self, even theſe nothings will not be unwelcome unto thee, though I ſhould chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too ſudden taking alarms; I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all earthly things, and that My contentment is unſeparably conjoyned with thine, muſt not all My actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead, (I ſpeak not in reſpect of the common diſtractions) even in point of converſation, which in My minde, is the chief*

joy

*joy & vexation of ones life, I dare ſay thou would pity Me; for ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh, ſome too buſie, others too reſerved, many fantaſtick. In a word, when I know none better (I ſpeak not now in relation to buſineſſe) then 3. 9. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 66. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. thou may eaſily judge how My converſation pleaſeth Me.* I confeſſe thy company hath perhaps made Me in this, hard to be pleaſed, but not leſſe to be pitied by thee, who art the onely cure for this diſeaſe. The end of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort Me as often as thou canſt with thy Letters; and doſt not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou ſpendeſt the time, are pleaſing ſubjects into Me, though thou haſt no other buſineſſe to write of? believe Me Sweet Heart, thy kindneſſe is as neceſſary to comfort My heart, as thy aſſiſtance is for my affairs.

To my Wife 9 April 1645. by *Binion.*

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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13.

*To the* Queen, *May* 4. 1645. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, the Rebels new brutiſh General hath refuſed to meddle with Forrain Paſſes, ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I cannot very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the Weſt; and now, if I could be aſſured of thy recovery, I could have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God My affairs begin to ſmile upon Me again, *Wales* being well ſwept of the Rebels, *Harrington* having relieved it ſelf, and now being ſecured by *Gorings* coming. My Nephews having likewiſe brought Me a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot; theſe Quarters are ſo free that I hope to be marching

within three or four dayes, and am ſtill confident to have the ſtart of the Rebels this year: I am likewiſe very hopeful that My Son will ſhortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerful aſſurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: Of late I have been much preſſed to make *Southampton* Maſter of my Horſe, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recoſening Mee; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealouſie and diſcontents were like to ariſe, wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both ſave Me charge, & ſtop other mens grumblings: I have now no more to ſay, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I reſt eternally thine.

*To my Wife* 4 May 1645. By *Malin St. Ravy.*
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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14.

*To the* Queen, *May* 14. 1644. *Droït Wiche.*

*Dear heart,*

MArching takes away the conveniency of ſending My Letters ſo ſafe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I ſhall not fail to do what I can to ſend often to thee; there is ſo little news for the preſent as I will leave that ſubject for others, only upon Saturday laſt I received a Diſpatch from *Montroſe*, which aſſures Me his condition to be ſo good, that he bids Me be confident that his Countreymen ſhall do Me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 Horſe, he would undertake to bring Me 20000 men before the end of this Summer. For the general ſtate of My affairs, We all here think to be very hopeful; this Army being of a good ſtrength, well ordered, and increaſing; My Sonnes

ſuch,

ſuch, that *Fairfax* will not be refuſed to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good ſatisfaction from himſelf. Its true that I cannot brag of ſtore of money, but a ſharp ſword alwayes hinders ſtarving at leaſt; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly We ſhall make as good a ſhift with empty purſes as they) or they muſt have ſome greater defect, elſe their Leavies could not be ſo backward as they are, for *I* aſſure thee that I have at this inſtant many more men in the field then they. *I* am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much ſtronger then *I* am made believe, *I* may likewiſe include them.

Now *I* muſt make a complaint to thee of My Son *Charles*, which troubles Me the more, that thou maiſt ſuſpect *I* ſeek by equivocating to hide the breach of My word, which *I* hate above all things, eſpecially to thee: *It* is this, He hath ſent to deſire Me, that Sir *John Greenfield* may be ſworn Gentleman of his Bedchamber, but he is already ſo publickly engaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſgrace both to my Son & the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a juſt diſtaſte, eſpecially now, conſidering his Fathers merits, & his own hopefulneſſe, beſides the great power that Family has in the Weſt. Yet *I* have refuſed the admitting of him until *I* ſhall hear from thee. Wherefore *I* deſire thee firſt to chide my Son for ingaging himſelf without one of Our conſents: then, not to refuſe thy own conſent: and laſtly, to believe that directly or indirectly *I* never know of this while yeſterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewel, Sweet heart, and God ſend Me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May. 14. 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

15.

## To the Queen, June 9. 1645. Oxford.

*Dear Heart,*

Oxford being free, I hope this will come ſooner to thee then otherwiſe I could have expected, which makes Me believe, that My good news will not be very ſtale, which in ſhort is this, ſince the taking of *Leiceſter* My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raiſe their ſiege before *I* could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garriſon, and loſt four hundred men at an aſſault before *Boſtol-houſe*; at firſt I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but they are ſince gone to *Brickhil*, ſo as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be: whether by their diſtractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at Cudgels, and his men and *Cromwels* likewiſe at blows together, where a Captain was ſlain, or waſting their men, I will not ſay: beſides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Weſtern Rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that (ſince this Rebellion) My affairs were never in ſo fair and hopeful a way, though among Our ſelves We want not Our own follies, which is needleſſe, I am ſure tedious to tell thee, but ſuch as I am confident ſhall do no harm nor much trouble Me: Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz Williams*, aſſuring Me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindneſſe, which makes Me capable of taking contentment

tentment in theſe good ſucceſſes: *For as divers men propoſe ſeveral recompences to themſelves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; ſo thy company is the onely reward I expect and wiſh for.*

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

*This is a true copy, examined by* Miles Corbet.

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16.

## *To the* Queen, *December* 1644. *Oxford.*

*Dear heart,*

I Know thy affection to Me ſo truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to finde My reputation, as My life in danger: therefore leſt the falſe ſound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon baſe and unſafe terms ſhould diſturb thy thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure thy minde from ſuch rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have uſed to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I ſhall firſt ſhew thee My grounds, to the end thou may the better underſtand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even My party, are ſtrangely impatient for peace, which obliged Me ſo much the more (at all occaſions) to ſhew My real intentions to peace; *And likewiſe I am put in very good hope (ſome hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder Me from a good peace: Firſt, becauſe their own party are moſt weary of the War, and likewiſe for the great diſtractions which at this time moſt aſſuredly are amongſt themſelves, as Presbyterians againſt Independents in Religion, and General againſt General in point of command: Upon theſe grounds a Treaty being moſt deſirable (not without hope of good ſucceſſe) the moſt probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which might ſtand with honour and ſafety, amongſt the reſt (for I will omit all thoſe which are unqueſtionably concealable) the*

*ſound of My return to* London *was thought to have ſo much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refuſed, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantagious to Me: yet leſt fooliſh or malicious people ſhould interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyned conditions with the propoſition (without which this ſound will ſignifie nothing) which thou wilt finde to be moſt of the chief ingredients of an honourable and ſafe peace.* Then obſerve, if a Treaty at *London* with Commiſſioners for both ſides may be had without it, it is not to be uſed; nor, in caſe they will treat with no body but my Self, ſo that the conditions ſaves any aſperſion of diſhonour, and the treating at *London*, the malignity which our factious ſpirits here may infuſe into this Treaty upon this ſubject. This I hope will ſecure thee from the trouble which otherwiſe may be cauſed by falſe malicious rumours, and though *I* judge my Self ſecure in thy thoughts, from ſuſpecting Me guilty of any baſeneſſe, yet *I* held this account neceſſary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy ſelf, this certain truth, That no danger of death or miſery (which *I* think much worſe) ſhall make Me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the ſtate of my preſent affairs *I* refer thee to 92, concluding (as *I* did in My laſt to thee) conjuring thee, as thou loveſt Me, that no appearance of peace (and now *I* adde) nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſte ſuccour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. by *Tom Elliot.*

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17.

*To the* Queen, *January* 2. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

HAving decypherd thine which I received yeſterday I was much ſurprized to finde thee blame

Me

Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of My Secretaries without one from Me, when I knew of it.

'As for my calling those at *London* a Parliament, I 'shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, 'this in general; If there had been but two (besides 'my Self) of My opinion, I had not done it, and the 'Argument that prevailed with Me, was, that the call'ing did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Par'liament, upon which condition and construction I 'did it and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is regi'stred in the Councel Books, with the *Councels* una'nimous approbation; but thou wilt finde, that it 'was by misfortune, not neglect that thou hast been 'no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble Me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the uglyest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it; the fear of some such mischance made Me the more carefull to give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou heares the reasons of them from Me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem Me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou lefts Me withall, and so fare well. Dear Heart.

*Copy to my Wife*, 2 *Ian.* 1644. *By* P. Ash

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

18.

*To the* Queen, *February* 19. 1644. *Oxford.*

DEar heart, I cannot yet ſend thee any certain word concerning the iſſue of Our Treaty, only, the unreaſonable ſtubbornneſſe of the Rebels, gives daily leſſe and leſſe hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſtning all thou may, all poſſible aſſiſtance to me, and particularly that of the D. of *Lorraines*; concerning which I received yeſterday, good newes from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* will furniſh ſhipping for his tranſportation, and that the reſt of his negotiation goes hopefully on, by which and many other wayes, I finde thy affection ſo accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their ſeverall kindes) to eſteem moſt: but I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but poſſible to be done by the continued actions of My life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montroſe*, who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yeſterday *I* received thine of January 27, by the Portugal Agent, the onely way (but expreſſes) *I* am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee; indeed *Sabran* ſent me word yeſterday, beſides *ſome complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels ſhips in France (which I likewiſe put upon thy ſcore of kindneſſe)* but is well enough content that the Portugal ſhould be charged with thy diſpatches. As for truſting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding My Army before a peace, do no wayes fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly: for I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in Me at a far dearer rate, and

pretend

pretend to have a little more wit (at leaſt by the ſympathy that is betwixt Us) then to put my Self into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expreſſe thou haſt promiſed me, *I* reſt eternally thine.

*I* can now aſſure thee, that *Hertogen* the *Iriſh* Agent is an arrant Knave, which ſhall be made manifeſt to thee by the firſt opportunity of ſending Pacquets.

To my Wife 19 Febr. 1645. by *P. A.*

*This is a true copy examined by*
*Edmund Prideaux.*

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## 19.

### *To the* Queen, *Febr.* 25. 1645. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, the expectation of an expreſſe from thee (as *I* finde by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to Me, as likewiſe that thou art now well ſatisfied with My diligence in writing. As for Our Treaty there is every day leſſe hopes then other, that it will produce a peace. But *I* will abſolutely promiſe thee, that if We have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy return. For *I* avow, that without thy company *I* can neither have peace nor comfort within my Self. The limited dayes for treating, are now almoſt expired without the leaſt agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore *I* have ſent for inlargement of dayes, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And *I* aſſure thee, that thou *needſt not doubt the iſſue of this Treaty; for My Commiſſioners are ſo well choſen (though I ſay it) that they will neither be threatned nor diſputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou ſo well remembers.* And in this not onely their obedience, but their judgements concur. *I* confeſſe that

in ſome reſpects thou haſt reaſon to bid Me beware of going too ſoon to *London*: for indeed ſome amongſt us had a greater minde that way then was fit; of which perſwaſion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is ſhortly like to ſee thee, of whom having ſaid this, is enough to ſhew thee how he is to be truſted, or believed by thee concerning Our proceedings here. In ſhort, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hotteſt for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace I ſhall ever ſhew My conſtancy in adhering to Biſhops, and all Our friends, and not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou loves Me, let none perſwade thee to ſlacken thine aſſiſtance for him who is eternally thine, *C. R.*

To my Wife 15 Febr. 1645. by P. A.
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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20.

*To the* Queen, *March* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

DEar Heart, now is come to paſſe what I foreſaw, the fruitleſſe end (as to a preſent peace) of this Treaty; but I am ſtill confident, that I ſhall ſtill finde very good effects of it: for beſides, that My Commiſſioners have offered, to ſay no more, full meaſured reaſon, and the Rebels have ſtucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare ſay had been too much, though they had taken Me priſoner, ſo that aſſuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewiſe at this time diſcovered, and ſhall likewiſe make it evidently appear to the World, that the *Engliſh* Rebels, (whether baſely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lyes, tranſmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which (beſides the reflection

reflection it will have upon theſe Rebels) will clearly ſhew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much leſſe the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion; but it being preſumption, and no piety: ſo to truſt to a good cauſe, as not to uſe all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furniſh thee with for my aſſiſtance, then hitherto thou haſt had: It is, that I give thee power to promiſe in my Name (to whom thou thinkeſt moſt fit) that I will take away all the penal laws againſt the Roman Catholicks in England as ſoon as God ſhall enable me to do it; ſo as by their means, or in their favours, I may have ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou aſk what I call that aſſiſtance, I anſwer, that when thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen, if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed. I need not tell thee what ſecrecy this buſineſſe requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of confidence I can expreſſe to thee; for it is no thank to Me to truſt to thee in any thing elſe but in this which is the onely thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me, even in this.* I truſting thee, (though it concern Religion) as if thou were a Proteſtant; the viſible good of my affairs ſo much depending on it, I have ſo fully intruſted this bearer *Pooly*, that I will not ſay more to thee now, but that herewith I ſend thee a new cypher, aſſuring thee, that none hath or ſhall have any copy of it but my ſelf, to the end thou mayeſt uſe it, when thou ſhalt finde fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but Me; and ſo likewiſe from him to thee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife 5 March, 1645. by *Pooly.*

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

To

21.

## *To the* Queen, *March* 20. 1642. *Oxford.*

*Dear Heart,*

Upon Saturday laſt *I* wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this *I* believe may come as ſoon to thee) and *I* have received thine of the ſeventh upon Monday laſt, which gave Me great contentment both in preſent and expectation, (the quick paſſage being likewiſe a welcome circumſtance) and yet *I* cannot but finde a fault of omiſſion in moſt of thy latter diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though *I* confeſſe, that in this no news is good news, yet *I* am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; and *I* hope thou wilt by ſatisfying me confeſſe the juſtneſſe of this my exception. *I* am now full fraught with expectation (*I* pray God ſend me a good unlading) for *I* look dayly for ſome blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and *I* am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of men from *Ireland*, likewiſe the refractory Horſe (as the *London* Rebels cals them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howſoever *I* doubt not, but if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this *I* believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having ſent to try their pulſes; *Petit* came yeſterday, but he having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the States Ambaſſadours Pacquets *I* have not yet received them, and *I* would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Weſtern news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four dayes; onely *I* congratulate

ate with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Callis*: and so farewel Sweetheart.

Thine of the tenth *I* have newly received, whereby *I* finde that thou much mistakes Me concerning *Ir.* for *I* desire nothing more then a peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; onely *I* gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom *I* then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 March, 164⅘. *by* P. A.
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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22.

*To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *December* 15. 1644. *Oxford.*

ORMOND, *I* am sorry to finde by Colonel *Barry* the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which *I* cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affairs here; wherefore *I* command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which *I* hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient *Instruction* and power: yet *I* have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with My own hand. As for *Poinings* Act *I* refer you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion, though *I* have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which *Brown* gave you, yet *I* must command you to give him my [illegible] *Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in general and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, *and to shew that this is more then* words,

*wards, I do hereby promiſe them, (and command you to ſee it done) that the penal Statutes againſt Roman Catholicks ſhall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Iriſh gives Me that aſſiſtance which they have promiſed, for the ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion, & I ſhall be reſtored to My rights, then I will conſent to the repeal of them by a Law; but all thoſe againſt Appeals to* Rome, *and Premunire muſt ſtand,* all this in Cypher, you muſt impart to none, but thoſe three already named, and that with injunction of ſtrict ſecreſie: ſo again recommending to your care the ſpeedy diſpatch of the peace of *Ireland*, & my neceſſary ſupply thence, as I wrote to you in my laſt private Letter, I reſt.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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23.

*To the Marqueſſe of* Ormond, *Jan.* 7. 1644. *Oxford.*

ORMOND, upon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it neceſſery to tel you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken reports from hence might trouble My affairs there.

'The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and moſt 'aſſuredly, one of the firſt and chief Articles they 'will inſiſt on, will be, to continue the *Iriſh* warre; '*which is a point not popular for Me to break on*; of which 'you are to make a double uſe: Firſt, to haſten '(with all poſſible diligence) the peace there; the 'timely concluſion of which will take off that incon-'venience which otherwayes I may be ſubject to, by 'the refuſal of that Article, upon any other reaſon. 'Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Iriſh, the 'danger there may be of their total and perpetual 'excluſion from thoſe favours I intend them, in 'caſe the Rebels here clap up a peace with Me, upon

'reaſonable

'reaſonable tearms, and onely exclude them; which 'poſſibly were not councelable for me to refuſe, if 'the Iriſh peace ſhould be the onely difference be-'twixt Us, before it were perfected there: Theſe I 'hope are ſufficient grounds for you to perſwade the 'Iriſh diligently to diſpatch a peace upon reaſonable 'terms, aſſuring them that you having once fully en-'gaged to them my word (in the concluſion of a 'peace) all the earth ſhall not make me break it.

But not doubing of a peace, I muſt again remem-'ber you to preſſe the Iriſh for their ſpeedy aſſiſtance 'to me here, and their friends in *Scotland*: My inten-'tion being to draw from thence into *Wales* (the 'peace once concluded) as many as *I* can of my ar-'med Proteſtant Subjects, and deſire that the Iriſh 'would ſend as great a body as they can to land about '*Cumberland*, which will put thoſe Northern Counties 'in a brave condition; wherefore you muſt take ſpee-'dy order to provide all the ſhipping you may, as 'well Dunkeirk as Iriſh Bottoms; and remember 'that after March it will be moſt difficult to tranſport 'men from Ireland to England, the Rebels being 'maſters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and par-'ticular account in anſwer to this Letter, I reſt

Your aſſured conſtant Friend, *C.R.*

24. *To the M. of* Ormond, *Febr.* 16. 1644. *Oxf.*

ORMOND, I ſhould wrong my own ſervice, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherſton*, if I did not recommend him and his buſineſſe to you; for the particulars of which *I* refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by Me, with materials ſufficient: But in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) peace cannot be had upon thoſe terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation (according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you.) So I reſt.

Poſtſcipt.

## POST-SCRIPT.

In caſe upon particular mens fancies, the Iriſh peace ſhould not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needleſſe) to ſeek to renew the ceſſation for a year, for which you ſhall promiſe the *Iriſh* (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them againſt the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for *I* hope by that time my condition may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad to accept leſſe, *or I be able to grant more.*

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### 25.

*To the Marqueſſe of* Ormond, *February* 27. 1647.

*Ormond,*

THe impoſſibility of preſerving my Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved Me to give you thoſe powers and directions; which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the ſame growing daily much more evident, that alone were reaſon enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more poſitive. But beſides theſe conſiderations, it being now manifeſt that the Engliſh Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total ſubverſion of Religion and Regal power, and that nothing leſſe will content them, or purchaſe

peace

peace here. I think my Self bound in conſcience not to let ſlip the means of ſetling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loſe that aſſiſtance which *I* may hope from my *Iriſh* Subjects, for ſuch ſcruples as in a leſſe preſſing condition might reaſonably be ſtuck at by me: For their ſatisfaction *I* do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Iriſh, whatever it coſt, ſo that my Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and my Regal Authority preſerved: But for all this you are to make me the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover your inlargement of power till you needs muſt. And though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the ſuſpenſion of *Poinings* Act for ſuch Bils as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking away of the penal Laws againſt Papiſts, by a Law will do it: *I* ſhall not think it a hard bargain, ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in my aſſiſtance againſt my Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience or Honour.

Copy to *Ormond*, 27 Febr. 1644.

a true copy,
*Touche Tate.*

To

26.

*To the D. of R.*

RIchmond, I thank you for the account you ſent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but onely to remember you that my going to *Weſt.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with *Com.* there or there abouts, and that you mention the ſecurity I ask with My coming to Weſt. And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well Our Weſtern and Northern Aſſociations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I reſt.

This a true copy,

*Touche Tate.*

21.

*To the Lord* Jermin, *April* 24. 1645. *Oxford.*

HARRY leſt my Wife ſhould not yet be fit for any buſineſſe, I write this to you; not to excuſe

My

My pains but eaſe hers, and that ſhe may know but not be troubled with my kindneſſe, I refer to your diſcretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other buſineſſe, that ſo her health in the firſt place be cared for, then my affairs: And now I muſt tell you that undoubtedly if you had not truſted to *Digbies* ſanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from ſending good news) you would not have found fault with him for ſending miſtaken intelligence, for if he ſhould ſtrictly tye himſelf to certain truths in this kind, you muſt have nothing from him but My Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houſes; but tell Me, can you not diſtinguiſh between what we ſend you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of diſtinction: and are you obliged to publiſh all the news We ſend you? Seriouſly I think news may be ſometimes too good to be told in the French Court: and certainly there is as much dexterity in publiſhing of news, as in matters which at firſt ſight may ſeem of greater difficulty: for as *I* would not have them think that all aſſiſtance beſtowed upon Me were in vain, ſo I would not have them believe that I needed no help, leſt they ſhould underhand aſſiſt any Rebels to keep the ballance of diſſention amongſt Us equals.

For matter of news and preſent ſtate of My affairs I refer you to *Digby*, onely this in general, that if it ſhall pleaſe God to aſſiſt Us this year but half ſo miraculouſly as he did the laſt (My preſent ſtate compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) *I* am very hopeful to ſee a joyful Harveſt before next Winter: nor do I think this in any humane probability poſſible; except my Wife can procure Me conſiderable aſſiſtance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reaſon to diſpair, yours giving

Me

me good hope, concerning Lorrain, and though I ſay not, that, for the other, *I* have ſo good an Author as 196, yet *I* hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149 in hers the 10 of March, ſayes, Jay une Affaire, aſſures que vous donnere 40000 Pitols que Je vous cuſſi envoyé ſi J' cuſſi lu mon navier revenu avec l' eſtain.

*In* the laſt place I will impoſe that upon you, that is not unreaſonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continual account, what Letters ſhe receives from me, and what miſcarries or comes ſlowly, to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37, and likewiſe *I* now begin the ſame with you: ſo farewell.

*In* your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as *I* would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder me to imagine her worſe then ſhe is, if well then every word will pleaſe me. *I* have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely concerning *Will Murry*, which *I* hold to be neceſſary as concerning Montroſſe buſineſſe.

To the L. *Jermin* 24 April, 1645. concerning France.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

## 31:

## *The* Queen *to the* King, *April* 21. 1644. *Bathe.*

MY dear heart, *Fred. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as far as *Adbury*, and the ſtate of my health: ſince my coming hither, I finde my ſelf ill, as well in the ill reſt that I have, as in the increaſe of my Rhume.

I hope that this dayes reſt will do me good to go to morrow to *Briſtol*, to ſend you back the Carts; many of them are already returned: My Lord *Dil'on* told me, not directly from you, though he ſayes you approve it; that it was fit I ſhould write a Letter to the Commiſſioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to deſiſt from thoſe things for the preſent, which they had put in their paper, and to aſſure them that when you ſhall be in another condition then you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought fit to be a matter of ſo great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it pleaſe you that I ſhould do ſo, ſend me what you would have me write, that I may not do more then what you appoint: And alſo that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promiſe: for I ſhould be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promiſed it me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the reſt will be enough; for the Letter which I ſhall write to him ſhall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your Commiſſioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary. Farewel my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely Yours.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

32.

*The* Queen *to the* King, *Dec.6. 1644. Paris.*

PAris, January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made anſwer: I will ſay nothing concerning this but only concerning the affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very ſeaſonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I underſtand that the Commiſſioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to ſay, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall out otherwiſe, *that you do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, for fear they do forſake you in your need.* Alſo I do not ſee how you can be in ſafety without a Regiment of Guard; for my ſelf I think I cannot be, *ſeeing the malice which they have againſt me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both*: but in my opinion Religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon which you ſhould treat; *For if you do agree upon ſtrictneſſe againſt the Catholicks, it would diſcourage them to ſerve you: and if afterwards there ſhould be no peace, you could never expect ſuccours either from* Ireland, *or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have ſerved your ſelf.* I have diſpatched an expreſſe into *Scotland*, to *Montroſſe*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I ſend to Mr. of *Lorrain*, and into *Holl.* I loſe no time: if I had more of your news all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

33.

*The* Queen *to the* King, *Jan.* 27. 1644. *Paris.*

PAris January ; My Dear Heart, *Tom Elliot* two dayes ſince hath brought me much joy, and ſor-

row:

row: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you go to *London*. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unlesse it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge*: For the honour of God trust not your self in the hands of these people. And if you ever go to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost*, they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. *I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorrain, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men*: Dr. *Goffe* whom I have sent into *Holland* shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse; and I hope very speedily to send you good news of this, as also of the money. Assure your self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to dye by Famine, rather then not to send to you. Send me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* and the Resident of *France*: Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet my self in cyphers shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great packets.

My Wife, $\frac{27}{17}$ January 164$\frac{5}{4}$.

A true copy, *Zouche Tate.*

34.

## *The* Queen *to the* King, *March* 13. 1644. *Paris.*

PAris this 13 of March. My Dear Heart, ſince my laſt, *I* have received one of your Letters marked 16 by which you ſignifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pody*, which hath a little ſurprized me, ſeeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter ſomething which had diſpleaſed you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I onely did believe that it was neceſſary you ſhould know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my ſelf your Diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any, which is onely to L. *Jer.* to uncypher them, my head not ſuffering me to do it my ſelf: but if it pleaſe you I will do it, and none in the World ſhall ſee them: be kinde to me, or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not do; but your ſervice ſurmounts all: farewel my Dear Heart: behold the mark which you deſire to have to know when *I* deſire any thing in earneſt ✠; and I pray begin to remember what I ſpake to you concerning *Jack Barkly* for Maſter of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of L. *Per.* and others, do you accordingly.

13 *March* 1644.

To.

Oxford. *Feb.* 16.44.

35.

*Memorials for Secretary* Nicholas *concerning the* Treaty *at* Uxbridge.

FIrſt for Religion and Church-government I will not go one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And ſo for the *Militia* more then what ye have allowed by Me, but even in that you muſt obſerve that *I* muſt have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, *I* will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the Engliſh Rebels) will be ſo baſe as to admit of ten Scots to twenty Engliſh, *I* am contented to name five Scots and ten Engliſh, and ſo proportionably to any number that ſhall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular perſons beſides ſecurity, *I* give you power to promiſe them rewards for performed ſervices, not ſparing to engage for places; ſo they be not of great truſt, or be taken away from honeſt men in poſſeſſion, but of as much profit as you will: with this laſt you are onely to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hide*.

This is a true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

31.

## *Directions for the* Uxbridge *Commiſſioners.*

### *Firſt concerning Religion.*

IN this the government of the Church (as I ſuppoſe) will be the chief queſtion, wherein two things are to be conſidered, Conſcience and Policy. For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the change of the government by Biſhops; not only as I fully concur with the moſt general opinion of Chriſtians in all Ages, as being the beſt, but likewiſe, I hold my ſelf particularly bound by the Oath I took at My Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacriledge, and likewiſe contrary to My Coronation Oath, but whatſoever ſhall be offered, for rectifying of abuſes, if any hath crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender conſciences (ſo that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious anſwer thereunto. For the ſecond, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, ſo it is the Churches to aſſiſt the King, in the maintenance of his juſt authority; wherefore My Predeceſſours have been alwayes careful (and eſpecially ſince the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the Kings head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency.

Next concerning the *Militia.*

After Conſcience, this is certainly the fitteſt Subject for a Kings Quarrel; for without it the Kingly power is but a ſhadow; and therefore upon no means

to

to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land: (yet becauſe to attain to this ſo much wiſhed peace by all good men) it is in a manner neceſſary, that ſufficient and real ſecurity be given for the performance of what ſhall be agreed upon. I permit you, either by leaving ſtrong Towns or other Military force into the Rebels poſſeſſion (until Articles be performed) to give ſuch aſſurance for performance of conditions as you ſhall judge neceſſary for to conclude a peace: provided always, that ye take (at leaſt) as great care by ſufficient ſecurity, that conditions be performed to Me: *And to make ſure that the peace once ſetled, all things ſhall return into their ancient Chanels.*

Thirdly for *Ireland.*

I confeſſe, they have very ſpecious popular Arguments to preſſe this point, the gaining of no Article more concluding to their ends then this: And I have as much reaſon both in honour and policy to take care how to anſwer this as any: all the World knows the eminent inevitable neceſſity which cauſed Me to make the Iriſh Ceſſation, and there remain yet as ſtrong reaſons for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder Me therein, until a clear way be ſhown Me, how My Proteſtant Subjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend themſelves; and that *I* ſhall have no more need to defend My Conſcience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

A true copy.

*Touche Tate.*

At *Uxbridge* on Wednesday the 29 of January, 1644. the Proteſtation underwritten was unanimouſly conſented unto, and taken by all his Majeſties Commiſſioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I *A.B.* being one of the Commiſſioners aſſigned by his Majeſty for this preſent Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do proteſt and promiſe in the ſight of Almighty God, that I will not diſcloſe nor reveal unto any perſon or perſons whatſoever (who is not a Commiſſioner) any matter or thing that ſhall be ſpoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majeſties Commiſſioners in any private debate amongſt our ſelves, concerning the ſaid Treaty; ſo as to name or deſcribe directly or indirectly the perſon or perſons that ſhall ſpeak any ſuch matter or thing, unleſſe it be by the conſent of all the ſaid Commiſſioners that ſhall be then living.

*Memorandum*, That it is by all the ſaid Commiſſioners agreed, that this ſhall not binde, where any ten of the Commiſſioners ſhall agree to certifie his Majeſty the number of Aſſenters or Diſſenters, upon any particular refuſe, in this Treaty, not naming or deſcribing the perſons.

This is a true copy examined by *Zouche Tate*.

Inſtructions

## 37.

## *Inſtructions for Colonel* Cockram, *to be purſued in his negotiations to the King of* Denmark.

YOu are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majeſties command, as to the neareſt ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in intereſts as affection, you are ſent to give a particular account of the ſtate of his Majeſties affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royal; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, ſuch as might be uſeful to the preſent affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of thoſe of Denmark.

That the preſent affair of your negotiation, is to demand an aſſiſtance from his Majeſty, ſuch an one as the preſent ſtate of the affairs of *England* requires, againſt a dangerous combination of his Majeſties ſubjects, who have not onely invaded his Majeſty in his particular rights, but have laid a deſign to diſſolve the Monarchy and frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarches of Chriſtendom to be looked upon with ſucceſſe in their deſigne.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any forraign treaty to be intereſſed in ſuppreſſing their deſigne, without giving them advantage of ſcandalling his Majeſties intentions, and drawing away univerſally the hearts of his people, whom they had inſinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuſes of Government, and Miniſters of Eſtate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though

the

the dangerous conſequence and deſigne were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent complyance was neceſſary, leſt any publick oppoſition on his Majeſties part, that might ſeem to defeat the great expectations which they had raiſed in the Commons in thoſe plauſible particulars might have occaſioned a general revolt, throughout the Kingdoms, great jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented amongſt them of his Majeſties Forraign Treaties and Force, to be uſed to oppoſe & ſuppreſſe thoſe their deſires & the movers thereof.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to diſſolve the Government of the Church, according to its conſtitution in *England*, a chief column and ſupport to that Monarchy and Crown.

They laſtly invaded his Majeſty in all the prerogatives of His Crown, and under pretence of ill Miniſters and Councellours of Eſtate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves in all times for the future the nomination of all Miniſters of Eſtate, and of his Majeſties Family; withdrew all His Revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themſelves in an abſolute power of diſpoſing His eſtate, entred upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the Militia of the Kingdom, his Navy and Magazines, in which his Majeſty being forced to appear in oppoſition, dangerous tumults were raiſed againſt Him, ſo that He was forced to forſake *London*, for preſervation of His perſon, His Queen, and Children.

That ſince, for the ſafety of the Queen He hath been forced to ſend her into *Holland*, to retire Himſelf to the beſt affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations ſetting forth the ſiniſter proceedings of that Faction, diſcovering their deſignes of innovating the government, and falſifying the ſcandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to

Him

Him univerſally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction ſtill keeping up ſome intereſt and credit with the Commons, in the deſperate ſtate they finde themſelves, begin to make head againſt Him, have appointed a General, and are leavying Forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hoſtility, violence, and rebellion.

That his Majeſty having great encouragements given Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that reſort to Him, is already advanced neer them with 6000 Horſe, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condeſcended to give her Majeſty, the Q. a convoy of the greateſt part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England.*

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majeſties perſonal appearance, have declared for Him, ſo that His affairs at home grow daily into a better eſtate, as he likewiſe expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon ſo dangerous a preſident to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to ſuppreſſe this ſo pernicious a deſigne, begun within His Kingdom.

That to give his Majeſty the juſter ground to reflect upon the dangerous conſequences, in relation to His own intereſt, of their ſucceſſe. It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons Houſe long ſince, to interpoſe in the accommodation of the *Dutch*, and to ſet out a Fleet, to take away His Cuſtoms of the *Sound.*

That they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty as a ground to ſcandal Him with His people, that He did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the *King* of *Danmark*, a forraign power, to ſettle His affairs; & under that pretext have given large Commiſſion, and particular inſtructions to the Fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and intercept all ſuch *Daniſh* ſhips at they ſhould meet, & to fight with, ſink or deſtroy, al ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them, not permitting the ſame, or to take & detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to

wch they

they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this Kingdom, in their own bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation being bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, and put in by ſtreſſe of weather in the Weſt of *England*.

That in purſuance of their great deſign of extirpating the Royal blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great blemiſh upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Siſter, at once to cut off the intereſt and pretentions of the whole Race, which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous deſigne they have purſued, examining witneſſes, and conferring circumſtances, and times to colour their pretenſions in ſo great a fault: and which as his ſacred Majeſty of England in the true ſence of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will puniſh, ſo he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Siſter of ſo happy memory, and by whom ſo near an union, and continued League of amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majeſty doth deſire his aſſiſtance, are, in the loan, and raiſing of Men, Money, Arms, and Ships, all or ſuch of them as may conſiſt beſt with the convenience of his own affairs: And of ſuch in the firſt place as may be moſt requiſite and are wanting to his Majeſty.

That to ſet his levies on foot, and put him in a poſture to protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution; 100000 li: will be neceſſary for him, which his Majeſty deſires, by way of loan. And for the reſtitution of it, beſides his Kingly word, and ſolemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of ſuch his Crown Jewels as are in his diſpoſure, to leave his Royal pledge, if it ſhall be deſired.

The

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000 Musquets, 1500 Horse-arms, & 20 pieces of Artillery mounted.

For Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or New-castle are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to imploy for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts: and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will obliege himself, and ratifie in expresse Articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmark*, a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horse, and so soon as his affairs shall be setled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Customes of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and armes, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That

That in caſe the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be ſent to him, or delivered to his Agent here: Who may have order to pay the money here: or any other Jewels.

That there have been in diſcourſes, ſeveral Propoſitions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on His part, then in reaſon could have been expected from Him, and the difficulties have ſtill risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majeſty doth underſtand, that a perſon is addreſſed to the King of *Denmark* from His Parliament, to inſinuate miſunderſtandings abroad with his Majeſties Allies, as they have done at home among his people, his Majeſty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations betweene their Majeſties, but that he be diſmiſt and ſent away ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

Note this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongſt the Kings Letters, but is otherwiſe atteſted.

*His*

# His MAJESTIES ANSWER *to a Pamphlet*, Intituled,

*A Declaration of the Commons of* England *in Parliament aſſembled, expreſſing their Reaſons and Grounds of paſſing the late Reſolutions touching no farther Addreſſe or Application to be made to the* KING.

Publiſhed by His MAJESTIES appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of until now, that heavy imputations were laid on any Man (I ſpeak not, now, of KINGS, which I confeſſe makes the caſe, yet, more ſtrange and unjuſt) and He not permitted to ſee, much leſſe to anſwer them: but ſo it is now with the KING: which does (though ſilently) yet ſubject Him to as great an *Imputation*, as there is any in the ſaid Declaration; for thoſe who know no better, may think that He cannot, becauſe He does not, Anſwer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing theſe things better then every ordinary Man) to do my beſt, that the KING ſhould not be injured, by the ignorance of His people: and albeit, *I* (lying under perſecution, for my Conſcience, and Love to Regal Authority) have not the means, in every thing, to make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all the moſt material points, for to make the truth, of the KINGS innocency, appear; that *I* ſhall ſatisfie any impartial judicious Reader.

Whae

What the iſſue of former Addreſſes to the KING hath been, is moſt certainly known to all the World but, where the Fault reſts, whereby peace hath not enſued, bare Aſſeverations, without proofs, cannot, I am ſure, ſatisfie any Judicious Reader. And indeed, it ſeems to me, that the Penner of this, ſeeks more to take the ears of the ignorant Multitude, with big words, and bold Aſſertions, then to ſatisfie rational Men with real proofs or true arguments. For, at the very firſt he begs the Queſtion; taking it for granted, that the KING could eaſe the *ſighs* and *groans*, dry the *tears*, and ſtanch the *blood* of his diſtreſſed Subjects: Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there is none to oppoſe? Is it He, that will not lay down Exciſe, Taxations, and Free-Quarterings? But, it is He indeed, who was ſo far from power, even at that time, (being far worſe ſince) that, in moſt things, He wanted the liberty of any free-born man: It is He, who never refuſed to eaſe his people of their Grievances; witneſſe more Acts of Grace paſſed in His Reign, then (to ſpeak within my compaſſe) in any five Kings or Queens times) that ever were before Him: Moreover, It is He, who, to ſettle the preſent unhappy diſtractions, and (as the beſt means to it) to obtain a perſonal Treaty, hath offered ſo much; that (to ſay truth) during His own time, He hath left Himſelf little more then the title of a KING; as it plainly appears by His Meſſage from the Iſle of *Wight*, concerning the *Militia*, and chooſing the Officers of State, and Privy Councellours; beſides other points of complyance, which it is needles here to mention.

Good God! are theſe *Offers unfit for them to receive?* Have they *tendred ſuch propoſitions, that might occaſion the World to judge that they have yeelded up, not only their wills and affections, but their reaſons alſo, and judgements, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation?* It is true, that if they can ſhew, what, reaſonably they could have asked more; or, wherein the KINGS offers

were

were deficient (either in point of ſecurity, or, by withholding, from any of His Subjects, a jot of their juſt priviledges) then, they ſaid ſomewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Aſſeverations, even againſt what a Man ſees, will not get credit with any, but ſuch who abandon their judgements to an implicit Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World, make a thing juſt or neceſſary, if it be not ſo of it ſelf: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the paſſages at the Treaties, of *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*, will believe (though it be ſaid) that *the propoſitions tendred at* Newcaſtle, *were the ſame in effect, which had been preſented to the King before, in the midſt of all His Strength and Forces?* Indeed me thinks ſuch groſſe ſlips as theſe, ſhould at leaſt, make a Man be wary, how to believe ſuch things, for which he ſees no proofs: And yet it ſhould ſeem, that a Man muſt either take their words, for good payment, or remain unſatisfied; for a little after it is ſaid, That *the Kings ſtrange, unexpected, and conditional Anſwers or Denials might juſtly have made them conſider ſome other courſe for ſetling the Kingdom in peace and ſafety, without any furnher Application*; but never ſhew, wherein the ſtrangeneſſe of His Anſwers or Denials conſiſts: And I ſhould think, that thoſe Reaſons, upon which the laying by of a KINGS authority is grounded (for it is no leſſe) ought to be particularly mentioned, for the Worlds ſatisfaction, and not involved in general big words: for it thereby ſeems, that it is their force of Arms, more then that of Reaſon, which they truſt to, for procuring of Obedience to their Determinations, or Belief to what they ſay: Otherwayes, can it be imagined, that their ſaying, That *their laſt propoſitions were to be qualified, that (where it might ſtand with the publick ſafety) the wonted Scruples or Objections were prevented or removed*, can give ſatisfaction to any rational Man, who hath ſeen all their former propoſitions? For, it is moſt evi-

dent

dent, that their Demands have alwayes encreaſ[ed] with their good Fortune.

And for their great Condeſcention to a *Perſonal Treaty* (which, under favour, can ſcarcely be called ſo for the KING, though He had granted what was deſired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to ſtay in the *Iſle of Wight*, and there to treat with Commiſſioners) upon ſigning the four Bils; Surely they incurred therein, but little danger; for it is moſt evident, that they contain the very ſubſtance of the moſt eſſential parts of their demands; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refuſing; for after He had confeſſed, that He had taken up Armes, to invade the Liberty of His people (whereas it was onely for the Defence of His own Rights) and had likewiſe Condemned all thoſe, who had faithfully ſerved Him, of Rebellion; and that He had totally deveſted Himſelf, His Heirs, and Succeſſours for ever, of the power of the Sword; whereby the protection of His Subjects (which is one of the moſt eſſential and neceſſary Rights belonging to Regal Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown: and that by a ſilent Confeſſion, He had done Himſelf and Succeſſours, an irrepairable prejudice concerning the Great Seal (*I* ſpeak not of the other two Bils, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for Him to grant (worth the inſiſting upon) after ſuch Conceſſions? or, indeed, what power was left Him to deny any thing? So that the KINGS neceſſity of giving the Anſwer He did (for it was no abſolute refuſal) is moſt evident; unleſſe, Hee had reſolved to have lived in quiet, without Honour; and to have given His people peace, without ſafety; by abandoning them to an Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houſes, for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without ſtinting of Numbers, or diſtinction

of

ſ perſons; and for payments, to leavy ſuch ſums monies in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and means, they ſhall think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but aſk; Is this the *Militia* that the KING contends for? or, did ever any KING of *England* pretend to, or ſeek for ſuch a power? ſurely no: But, this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, leſt this ſhould prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what they did in chooſing and changing Emperours, theſe do now to this Government; by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerneſſe to clear this point concerning the four Bils, had almoſt made me forget, a moſt material Queſtion: *I* wonder much wherein the danger conſiſts of a perſonal Treaty with the KING, ever ſince He was laſt at *Newcaſtle*? Surely He cannot bring Forces along with Him, to awe His two Houſes of Parliament: and it is well known that He hath not money to raiſe an Army: And truly, there is as little fear, that the eloquence of His Tongue ſhould work Miracles; but on the contrary, if Hee were ſo ill a Man, as you deſcribe Him to be, whatſoever He ſhall ſay or write, muſt more prejudice Him then you: for let Him never flatter Himſelf, it muſt be clear, not doubtfull, Reaſon, that can prevail againſt that great viſible prevailing power, which now oppoſes Him: nor do I ſay, it will; but certainly leſſe can do it: Where is then, the *Danger*! Believe it, Reaſon will hardly maintain thoſe who are afraid of her.

After this, it is ſaid, That *they had cauſe enough to remember, that the KING ſometimes denied to receive their humble Petitions*: but, they never tell, where, nor when, which, I am moſt confident, they cannot: but *I* am certain, that the KING hath ſent divers Meſſages of peace to them, unto which, He hath yet, had no anſwer; namely, His laſt from *Oxford* of the 15 of *January* 1645. and all the reſt ſince.

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As for the fight at *Brainceford*, whoſoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print, upon this ſubject, will clearly finde, that the KING hath more reaſon to complain, that they under colour of Treaty, ſought to environ Him with their Forces; then they, for what He then did; and His Retreat was neither for Fear, nor with Shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made Him retard, not haſten His Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) He had given: which He did without any loſſe at all, but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, eleven Colours, and fifteen peeces of Ordnance (beſide good ſtore of ammunition) then He had before: and for Cruelty; there was not a drop of blood ſhed, but in the heat of the fight, for I ſaw above five hundred priſoners, who (onely promiſed, *never after to bear arms againſt the* KING) were freely releaſed.

Again, they ſeem to have good Memories, ſaying, *That the King once ſent them a ſpecious Meſſage of renewing a Treaty, when at the ſame time, His Meſſenger was inſtructed how to manage that bloody Maſſacre in* London, *which was then deſign'd by vertue of the KINGS Commiſſion, ſince publiſhed.* And hath the King ſent but one Meſſage, for the renewing of a Treaty? Then what was thas from *Taveſtock* in Auguſt 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this, that is here mentioned, they knew not how to anſwer (for at that time, they knew not the way of ſilence) but by this forged accuſation againſt the Meſſenger; who, I dare ſay, knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the KINGS ſervice, by ſome who had more zeal then judgement: But, that there was a *Maſſacre* intended, or, that any *Commiſſion* from the KING, ſhould countenance ſuch a Deſigne, is a moſt notorious ſlander. As for the KINS mentioned Letter to the QUEEN; I am confident that any judicious Reader, will finde the Gloſſe made upon it, very much wreſted: And certainly,

certainly, after Ages will think theſe Times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are publiſhed to open view: And in other Countries, there is ſuch reſpect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the laſt Emperour in the greateſt heat of the *Bohemian* War, having intercepted a Packet, wherein were private Letters to King *James* of bleſſed memory (who was then known, no great Friend to the *Emperour*) from His onely Daughter, then, avowedly the *Emperours* greateſt Enemy; yet He ſent them to the KING, without the leaſt offer of violence to the Seals.

And now I come to their Determination upon the whole Matter, what courſe they have reſolved to take with the KING? their words are, *But notwithſtanding this and other former Tenders, We have now received ſuch a Denyal, that We are in diſpair of any good by Addreſſes to the King; neither muſt We be ſo injurious to the people in further delaying their ſettlement, as any more to preſſe His conſent to theſe, or any other propoſitions:* Beſides, it is reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King*; and do enjoyn, *That no perſons preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either Houſes of Parliament, or to any other perſon.* Thus you ſee, that the KING is laid by; But that is not all; for, He muſt, neither juſtifie His innocency againſt Calumny, nor is there any way left Him to mend any Errour, that He may have committed: *Is* this a juſt way of proceeding? when Truth, though offered, muſt not be heard; and that no way muſt be left to recant an Errour? And why all this ſeverity? Becauſe (as I have already ſhown you) the KING will not injure His Conſcience or Honour, nor ſuffer His people to be oppreſſed; to which they give the term of ſuch a *Denyal*, though really it was none. But ſince they thus ſeek to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder, that they forbid the KING to repent Him of thoſe faults, which He never committed:

and

and I believe all indifferent Men, will eaſily judge of the KINGS innocency, even by their way of accuſation: For thoſe who will lay ſuch high crimes to His charge, as the *breach of Oathes*, *Vows*, *Proteſtations*, and *Imprecations*, would not ſpare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the World, that He had not ſuffered as He has done, if He would have diſpenſed with that part of His *Coronation Oath*, which He made to the Clergy; which is no great ſigne that He makes light of His engagements: of which it is ſo univerſally known, that He has been ſo religiouſly carefull, as I hold it a wrong to His Innocency, to ſeek to cleer Him of ſuch ſlanders, for which there are no proofs alledged: for, Malice being once detected, is beſt anſwered, with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater, or more apparent Malice, then to offer to put the horrid ſlander of Paricide upon Him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to His bleſſed Father, as any Hiſtory can make mention of? But indeed the loſſe of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to ſhew, how Malice when it is at the height, is ordinarily accompanied; for there are none but ignorant or forgetful Men, who know not that it was meerly the want of aſſiſtance, from the two Houſes of Parliament (contrary to their publick general Engagement) that loſt *Rochel*: and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) then, that real aſſiſtance, which the KING, to the uttermoſt of His power, gave to thoſe of the Religion, at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcileable enemy to the KING; wherefore I cannot but ſay, that it is a ſtrange forgetful boldneſs to charge the KING with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are alſo other things, that, to any knowing Man, will rather ſeem Jeers, then Accuſations; as the *German Horſe*, and *Spaniſh Fleet in the year* 1639. But my

my affection ſhall not ſo blind me, as to ſay, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a juſt Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: ſo Grievances be they never ſo juſt, being once redreſſed, ought no more to be objected as Errours. And it is no Paradox, to affirm; that Truths, this way told, are no better then Slanders; and ſuch are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which, when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found ſuch as here they are deſcribed to be.

Now as concerning thoſe Diſcourſes which mention the beginnings of theſe troubles, (which are in two ſeveral places of this Declaration) I will onely ſay this; that what the KING did upon thoſe occaſions, was meerly to defend the Rights of His Crown, which were and are evidently ſought to be torn from Him; nor can I acknowledge all thoſe Relations to be true, ſuch as *private Levies* of Men, *by popiſh Agents*; *Arming of Papiſts in the North*, *Calling in of Daniſh Forces*, and the like: And as for the ſtale Slander of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed; it is well known, that the two Houſes (even at that time) were not ſo partial to the KING, as to have concealed a practiſe of that Kinde, if they could have got it ſufficiently proved.

But, if the *Iriſh Rebellion* can be juſtly charged upon the KING, then I ſhal not blame any for believing all the reſt of the Allegations againſt Him; onely I proteſt againſt all Rebels Teſtimony, as good proof; it being moſt certain by experience; that they, who make no conſcience of Rebelling, will make leſſe of Lying, when it is for their advantage. And, it is no little wonder, that ſo grave an Aſſembly as the Houſe of *Commons*, ſhould ſo ſlightly examine a buſineſſe of that great weight, as to alleage, that the *Scots* Great Seal did countenance the Iriſh Rebellion, when I know it can be proved, by Witneſſes without exception, that, for many moneths before, until the now

Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all ſealed by it: Nor concerning this great point will I onely ſay, that the King is innocent, and bid them prove (which, to moſt accuſations, is a ſufficient anſwer,) but I can prove that if the KING had been obeyed in the Iriſh affairs before He went laſt into *Scotland*, there had been no *Iriſh Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had, in few moneths, been ſuppreſſed, if His Directions had been obſerved; For if the KING had been ſuffered to have performed His Engagements to the *Iriſh Agents*; and had diſpoſed of the diſcontented *Iriſh Army*, beyond Sea (according to His contracts with the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours) there is nothing more clear, then that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; becauſe, they had wanted both pretence and means, to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if thoſe vigorous courſes had been purſued, which the KING propoſed, (firſt to the *Scots*, then, to the *Engliſh* Parliament) doubtleſſe that Rebellion had been ſoon ſupreſſed. But what He propoſed took little effect, that in many moneths after, there was nothing ſent into *Ireland*, but what the KING Himſelf ſent (aſſiſted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before He came from Scotland, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which, though it were little, will be found to have done much ſervice, as may be ſeen by the ſaid Sir *Roberts* voluntary Teſtimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commiſſioners then attending the KING at *Stoak*. And certainly, a greater evidence for conſtancy in Religion there cannot be, then the KING ſhewed in His *Iriſh Treaty*; for, in the time that He moſt needed aſſiſtance, it was in His power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimouſly for Him, and have had the whole Forces thereof employed in His Service, if He would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not inſiſting in any thing of Civil government, which His Majeſty might not have

ave granted, without prejudice to Regal Authority: nd this can be clearly proved, by the Marqueſſe of *Ormonds* Treaties with the *Iriſh*, not without very ood evidence by ſome of the KINGS Letters to the QUEEN, which were taken at *Naſeby* that are purpoſely concealed, leſt they ſhould too plainly diſcover the KINGS deteſtation of that Rebellion, and His rigid firmneſſe to the Proteſtant profeſſion: No can I read this point, without remarking with wonder, that Men ſhould have ſo ill memories, as again to renew that old ſlander, of the *Kings giving Paſſes to divers Papiſts, and perſons of quality, who headed the Rebels*; of which He ſo cleared Himſelf, that He demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no ſhew of proof could be produced, for that allegation: as is moſt plainly to be ſeen in the firſt book of the Collection of all Remonſtrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. & 70.

Thus having given a particular Anſwer to the moſt material points in this Declaration, the reſt are ſuch frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundleſſe calumnies, that Contempt is the beſt anſwer for them. Yet, one thing more, I muſt obſerve, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables paſſe for currant coin, but likewiſe ſeek to blinde Mens judgements, with falſe inferences upon ſome Truths: for exam-ple: It is true, that *the KING hath ſaid in ſome of His Speeches or Declarations, That He oweth an account of His actions to none but God alone; and that the Houſes of Parliament joynt or ſeperate have no power, either to make or declare any Law*: But, that this is *a fit foundation for all tyranny*, I muſt utterly deny: indeed, if it had been ſaid, that *the KING, without the two Houſes of Parliament, could make or declare Laws*, then there might be ſome ſtrength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament, it was never, ſo much as pretended, that either or both Houſes, without the KING, could make or declare any Law, and certainly His

Majesty is not the first (and I hope will not be the last) King of *England*, that hath not held Himself accountable to any Earthly power; besides it will be found, that this His Majesties position is most agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws; so far it is, from being *Destructive to a Kingdom*, or *a foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeal to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice, that any Man should be slandered, yet denied the sight thereof; and so far from being permitted to answer, that if He have erred, there is no way left Him to acknowledge or mend it: and yet this is the KINGS present condition; who is, at this time laid aside; because He will not consent that the old Fundamental Laws of this Land be changed, Regal Power destroyed, nor, His People submitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannical Government.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

# THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY IN HIS Solitudes *and* Sufferings.

ROM. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

C.R.

M. DC. XLIX.

*Upon His Sacred Majeſties incomparable*
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

*Dread Sir,*

COuldſt thou before thy death have *giv'n* what we
Might *aſk*, Thy *Book* had been the *Legacie*.
Thy *Will* can make but *Heirs* of *Monarchie*;
But This doth make each man an Heir of *Thee*.
Bleſt Soul! *Thou* art now mounted up on High,
Beyond our *Reach*, yet not above our *Eie*.
Lo here Thy *other-ſelf*: Thus thou canſt bee
In Heav'n and Earth, without *ubiquitie*.
Like This Thou haſt no *Picture*: So Divine,
Might any *Image* be ador'd, 't were *Thine*.
So curious is this Work; 'tis eaſily known,
'Twas drawn by no mans *Penſil*, but Thine own.
None could expreſſe a *King*, but Thou: We ſee,
*Men* cannot, *Gods* may limn a *Deitie*.
The *Style* betraie's a *King*, the *Art* a *Man*
The high *Devotion* ſpeaks a *Chriſtian*.

Theſe meet in CHARLS alone; but *He*, there's none
So fully *All*, as if He were but *One*:
How ſhort of Thee is *Balzack's* Prince; He knew
Not how to *think*, what thou knew'ſt how to *do*:
Thou art the *Copy* for our Kings: and He
Shall ſtill be beſt, that frames Himſelf by *Thee*:
Thy Work's a Practick *Pattern* for Thy Sons,
Who, having this, ſhall need no *Xenophon*.
They that would know thy Parts, muſt read *Thee*: look,
You'l finde each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book*:
Each *Comma* is ſo full, each *Colon* good,
'Tis pity, Death did put a *Period*.
Great *Tully* hath been ſilenc'd amongſt men,
Had but Thy *Tongue* been equal to Thy *Pen*:
But this *Defect* doth prove Thy ſkil more choice,
That makes the *Eccho* ſweeter then the *voice*:
Our *Bodley's* ſhelves will now be full; No man
Will want more Books; This one's a *Vatican*.
Yet 'tis but CHARLS contracted: Since His fall,
Heav'n hath the *Volume*, Earth the *Manual*.

F:N:G:

## I. *Upon His* MAJESTIES *calling this* PARLIAMENT.

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſſity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My people: And although I was not forgetful of thoſe ſparks, which ſome Mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome years, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My Self to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which, as I feared affairs would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other Men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My Self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay & fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve & reſtore the health of al ſtates & kingdoms:)

No Man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My Self; who knowing by the largeneſſe of My own heart toward My people's good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My Self moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and My Childrens intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporal bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My Self in ſome things of My wonted prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine Enemies alſo: exceeding, even the deſires of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſneſſe in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My Self; whom it moſt concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, no flames, of civil diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe; and to grant what ever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Me, was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept My Self within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own judgement to have been over-born in ſome things, more by others importunities, then their Arguments;

My

My confidence had leſſe betrayed My Self, and My Kingdoms, to thoſe advantages, which ſome Men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occaſion to do miſchief.

But Our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods juſtice, from reaping that glory in Our Calamities, which We robbed Him of in Our proſperity.

*For thou (O Lord) haſt made Us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.*

*Our ſins have overlaid Our hopes; Thou haſt taught Us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on Our purpoſe to amend.*

*When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy judgements, and haſt ſhewed Us, how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to Us, which We have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive Us of them.*

*For want of timely repentance of Our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe remedies We too late apply.*

*Yet I do not repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My peoples good.*

*The miſeries which have enſued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.*

*O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy Rod as well as thy Staffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought me and my people, unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.*

Thy

*Thy grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our peace could be with our ſins.*

*O thou Soveraign Goodneſſe and Wiſdom, who ov-ruleſt all our counſels; over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercy.*

*As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our poyſons into Antidotes.*

*As the ſins of our peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy war, ſo let this war prepare us for thy bleſſed peace.*

*That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of peace in my heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake.* Amen.

## II. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to imploy him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Wherefore he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brightſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the temper of that people, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that *I* think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men before that inward exactneſſe of conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My judgement *I* thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and Men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conſcience, thereby to ſalve State-Sores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a Mans own boſom.

Nor hath Gods juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the World the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that juſtice, which My conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favour.

favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no Men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinful raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which, being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) with his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of juſtice, before all injoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in my Lord of *Straffords* buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have imployed him in My affairs, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe guiltleſſenes I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to dye: who for their Integrity in

their

their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, & do as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tels the World, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated on themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I finde in My ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one Mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome Men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any Mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe My own.

*But thou, O God of infinite Mercies, forgive me that act of ſinful complyance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.*

*O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.*

*Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.*

*Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.*

*Yea,*

*Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.*

*Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.*

*Make me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.*

*It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.*

*What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my ſoul, for thou deſireſt truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expreſſions.*

*Lord hear the voice of thy Sonnes, and my Saviours blood, which ſpeaks better things; and make me, and my people, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.*

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## III. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed; that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet *I* wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve, by calling in queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all My deſigne) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My ſuſpitions; which as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to bee ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if *I* had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knowes, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended

tended could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, it was no wonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My followers at that time ſhort of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at My coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had gone with Me to preſerve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My Self, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after unavoidable judgement, which ſhall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I foreſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome Mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſigne: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I

was

was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

*But thou, O Lord, art My witneſſe in Heaven, and in heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſs in my thoughts.*

*Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.*

*Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.*

*Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſin, in that matter: more then their impunity among good men, is any ſure token of their innocency.*

*But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not [illegible] for it in this World.*

*Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies and open violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.*

*Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.*

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## IV. *Upon the inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earthquake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the World hath more of horrour.

As

As it is one of the moſt convincing Argument that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Sea: ſo tis no leſſe, that he ſtrains the madneſſe of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to paſſe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My Self and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Feaver, alwayes increaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reaſon and Candor) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued: By theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth

forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the Midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe ryot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the opening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſuitable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe men ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My Self and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in a vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My Self could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My Self not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of puſillanimity, for any Man for popular terrors to deſert his publick ſtation. But *I* think it a hardneſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a gallant Man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, ( when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) GOD knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent Man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My Self, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, *I* denied My Self in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our Selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *Whitehall*, if *I* could have had but any reaſonable fair quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but *I* did not think My Self bound to proſtetute the Majeſty of My place and perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is: Onely *I* believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe Men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election, and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Honour, and Religion, they ſhould

have

have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: But as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourſes to publick Counſels, turning all into Diſorders and ſordid Confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdom moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the people.*

*The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.*

*I look upon my ſins and the ſins of my people, (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee, O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power: Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the Multitude.*

*Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee*

*the*

*the light of Reaſon and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of order and counſel.*

*What man cannot or will not repreſſe, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.*

*O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.*

*Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duly executed; and to our ſchiſms by Charity, that we may be as thy* Jeruſalem, *a City at unity within it ſelf.*

*This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake,* Amen.

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## V. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the World might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, I could, to the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſign, but the general good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applyed) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have

occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found wel done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publick affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My Self out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My Self in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lyes more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſſe then My Subjects, which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not,

not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honours, That the more I granted them, the more I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My Self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them *I* might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Me with increase of it: when men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely, then friendly contributions, which *I* granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of My confidence, and My sufferings for them; which (God knows) hath been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withal; as if *I* were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subjects Miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsely divulge) I, repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short-sight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if *I* had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, though *I* had then a sense of injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then com-

pelled, as ſince, to injure My Self by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that My Self and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probabilty: if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in fearing others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My own heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſſe a Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſome Men go up to the pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchy it ſelf,

ſelf, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them to ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyned by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinful ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of My will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Only *I* am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil, becauſe Mine were good.

*To thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.*

*Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to my ſubjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.*

*Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too, who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.*

*Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.*

*I ſee while I thought to allay others fears, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them have unſetled my ſelf.*

*Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.*

*O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.*

*Tis eaſie for thee to keep me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.*

*But no favours from me can make others more guilty then my ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on me.*

*I beſeech thee give me and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch grace as we may not abuſe.*

*Make me ſo far happy, as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon my offences againſt thee.*

*So, although by my ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporal bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.*

## VI. *Upon His Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victual, are forced by Sea to a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more then fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave, either My Self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though

(though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights as a King, and the general good of My people. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldom of one minde; and *I* may oft ſee, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how delirous *I* was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all, If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to Beaſts, to drive and compel men to aſſent to whatever tumultuary Patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a Slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rational ſoveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms ſo conſiderable, as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſent. Better for Me to dye enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me onely to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me,

then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require, as ſome men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever My Self, as a King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My people with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and My Self conſented to. I ſhall never think My Self conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him to uſe His own Reaſon, either in perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice

or

r paſſion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no Man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate detruſions of violence, to have the miſt of his Error and Paſſion impelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councels, and Propoſals. I may, in the truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houſes, further then I thought in good Reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when My judgement concurred with theirs, that ſo I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and moral neceſſity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be conſidered, I choſe rather to deny My Self, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for My peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My Self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Intereſts, and perſonal Rights, of which I conceive My Self to be Maſter; but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as

morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My heart gives My tongue or hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in stead of Reason, and publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

*O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the Touchstone of Reason and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our judgements approve.*

*Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdom at present did call me.*

*My people can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposal.*

*Let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary vio-*

*violence of ſome mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them by my conſent in thoſe things which I think in my conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my ſubjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to reaſon and Juſtice.*

*Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſſe upon me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt my conſcience.*

*Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal wayes, without the ſlavery of my ſoul.*

*Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me not to ſubject my reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſignes, which to me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.*

*Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.*

*Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.*

*This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.*

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## VII. *Upon the* Queens *departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That ſhe ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act

of

of the ſame tragedy w^ch was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of the minde, and divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Maners; and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants, who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the Savage Indians; while their rudeneſs and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate her for her ſelf. The fault is, that ſhe is My Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbor.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My perſonal dangers, that I can periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopeful poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My blood.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and his protection, who is able to Puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made

made good that ſafety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pity ſo noble and peaceful a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity and impudence

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights: and aſſure the envious World, that ſhe loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as wel as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My Enemies may

may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My Self.

*Thou, O Lord, whose justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.*

*Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.*

*Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde; to embrace every truth of thine!*

*Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.*

*Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternal good, and make us careful to do what good we know.*

*Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilful default.*

*Let not this great Scandal of those my Subjects, which profesſe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.*

*Let mine, and other mens constancy, be an antidote against the poyson of their example.*

*Let the truth of that Religion I profesſe, be represented to her judgement, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableneſſe: which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.*

*Let her see thy sacred and saving truths, as thine, that she may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.*

That

*That in the glaſſe of thy truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy Doctrine, and moſt imitable example.*

*The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, & greatneſs in our ſcatterings & eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.*

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## VIII. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loſſe of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My Self: nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not begun, then not carried on: for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a fault.

This

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyl, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy.

And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing unbeſeeming My Self, or unſuitable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, *I* think beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of CHRIST.

And indeed, I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King: for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear: what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injuries a man, more then his greateſt enemies can: for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſoules, which otherwayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the World, that the moſt wilfully blinde cannot avoide the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of Divine Vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one incenſtancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldeſt ſons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from

their

their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrang, that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſeful to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty, ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Commonweal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Counsrey: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, *I* was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt imployed him againſt Me) that *I* ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then *I* hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſs, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion: which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means, they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their

Juſtice,

Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have aſked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the World by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign, carries always its own vengeance, as an inſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*: though tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans honour, as wilful preparations of unworthy actions: which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indeleble Characters of Infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions.

*But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it, for his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me: ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſin againſt thee.*

*Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his pate.*

*Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.*

*I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh, O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.*

*Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of thy mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.*

*Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terror to all.*

*Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.*

*That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternal vengeance.*

*And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy and truth, meeting together: Let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe and peace, kiſſing each other.*

*Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſet thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to dye for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.*

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## IX. *Upon the Liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* King.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad

order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here *I* am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience before any outward tranquility.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O My Soul! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to truth and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace *I* have lately paſſed; and for thoſe many indignities I have endured? *Is* there no way left to make Me a glorious King, but by my ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his people, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after ſeventeen years living and Reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all nations about either admired or envyed? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſel of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others, envying the publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of My Self, either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent blood during My Reign have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My Luſt, Anger, or Covetouſneſſe? What Widows or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt Me;

Me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any reſpect of perſons.

In vain is My perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied, to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnatural a motion: which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrel) then any real obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *Whitehall*, to ſee if *I* could allay the inſolence of the Tumults, (of the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppreſſe both Mine and the two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, That what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo one to another.

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament.

That ſome men withdrew who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct w^ch is in all Creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo

ſtopped

ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the freedom and honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their conſciences: I know no Man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe ſentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-awed with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence: the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the priviledges and orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary mindes to their purpoſes.

How

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtom, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, as the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmatical Terrors, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, My Conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard Mine own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My Defence; or proſtrate My conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it; Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopal Faction, at firſt in this point, with My Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetouſneſſe, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have

found

found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſſe to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights and Honour for My ſake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My conſent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tye upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolical; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed, when what is onely of a civil Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated,

that

that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that *I* deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other My choice deſiring.

But ſome men know, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext, of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My Self, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them, there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number;

or else they were meerly consequential, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the World from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My prayer to him.

*For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.*

*O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.*

*Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.*

*For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroyl my kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.*

*Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to adventure my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroy my people.*

O

*O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me: but much more to bear the unjuſt reproachers of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed the firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.*

*The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my people from this miſerable War; ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my innocency in this thing.*

*Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counſels.*

*Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.*

*Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.*

*Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this War is, either to deſtroy my perſon, or force my judgement, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.*

*I am driven to croſſe* Davids *choice and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: better they deſtroy me, then thou ſhouldeſt damn me.*

*Be thou ever the defence of my ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.*

*If nothing but my blood will ſatisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects hands.*

*But O let the blood of me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy juſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction, both for my ſins, and the ſins of my people; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father! for they know not what they do.*

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## X. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for Me, at firſt might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me; My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſhearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingneſſe to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My Self, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurprizals of My ſtrength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrors. *I* believe My innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if *I* had firſt aſſaulted them.

They

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My Self into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew Me the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia, ſo much in reference to My own protection, as My peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve Me, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their Riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My friends, and a terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, or without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the KINGS of *England*, might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique-Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign power in Subjects, ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet *I* have even in this point of the conſtant Militia, ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities both to ſecure My friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My Self of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe then then the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all jealouſies of them, as to My Self; I deſire not to be ſafer then I wiſh them and My people: If I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the Militia, I could not protect my people, further then they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My Self ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the World, That none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and them! that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way, as the Law hath intruſted the publick ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this conceſſion of Mine, as to the exerciſe of the Militia, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity, ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of power; to which (at laſt)

all

all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeeld to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no lesse then Justice and Honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I cannot be content to eclypse My own beams, to satisfie their fears, who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all posterity, and succeeding Kings: whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed will not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subject to those many factions, distractions, which must needs follow the many headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee, so they will finde it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and at best it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsel may be in many as the Senses, but the supreme power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My inforced darknesse and eclypse (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My right in the power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust

to which I am ſworn for My peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compel Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting My Subjects, by expoſing My Self to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and advantages of power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeelding; to which the greateſt love of the publick peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good Conſcience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſſful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My Self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to My peoples tranquillity & Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct My way to Heaven.

*Therefore*

*Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.*

*There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.*

*Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.*

*Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.*

*If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe judgements oft begin with thy own children.*

*I am content to be nothing, that thou mayeſt be all.*

*Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.*

*Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto me.*

*I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.*

*O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my ſoul!*

*By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayeſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.*

*But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, there is no help for him in his God.*

*Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.*

*Keep me as the apple of thine eye; hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.*

*Shew thy marvellous loving kindeneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.*

*From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.*

*Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.*

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## XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* King, *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet my own ſafety, and My peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, *I* muſt chooſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make, or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My ſoul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me; by the way of grateful exchange of Honour; or any requital for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aſk more then I can give, may I but reſerve to My ſelf the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me, and while I have any Maſtery of My Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yeelding ſo much (as *I* have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken My outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde My Self to a general and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtines* might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyal way

of

of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon, to conſent or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to aſk, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine My Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a minde to aſk, whoſe mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are? which laſt, God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making Me their Soveraign, & them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent Oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary Impoſitions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurpe upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon Mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the World, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of My Self, as bruitiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in *My* Soul, and the Majeſty of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe and neglect to

vindicate

vindicate the freedom of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me, how well they can govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithful in my truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whoſe forwardneſs to aſcend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiours; called to be My Counſellours, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When *I* firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of maners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evil cuſtomes preterlegal, and abuſes perſonal had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by my ſelf, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My Self, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion binde Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which tis impoſſible to preſerve My people according to My place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in

Church

Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons, both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any Right invaded, of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any Compenſations to be made, of any impartial Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true policy, or any other humane motives, might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty, or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo abolition of the Laws againſt them: and a total extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main; other propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomly.

Nor

Nor do *I* ſo much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of ſome propoſitions (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the Name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: Among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle, and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the *major* part of both Houſes (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Government, and the miſ-Government, the Primitive paterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular Clamours and Tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policy, to improve their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of propoſitions having ſo little, in

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My judgement of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers; Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further then I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon, and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other, then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of thoſe men, who hunt after factious and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, That the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as wel as they have a right to ſit in Parliament? I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have Charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them; and Humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo tis fit I ſhould uſe their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability, as to exclude My Self; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that truſt to diſcharge, nor that eſtate and honour to preſerve, as My Self; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to ſit and Vote in Parliament.

For,

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, maſked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole Maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreys; ſome thirſting after nothing more, then a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Mee, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, *H*onour, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew ſuch morſels before I let them down: If the ſtraitneſſe of My Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels as others do of Sacriledge and Injuſtice both to God and Man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me, then for this, That My throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or faſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my Negative power, ſhall have any byaſſe upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My will, by denying any thing which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then

then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, the peoples welfare, and My own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever? for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me, that free, and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counſel of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

*O thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy ſervant firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in my underſtanding: then ſo confirm my will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſſions of my enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my conſcience.*

*Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creatures, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.*

*Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?*

*Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, which thou haſt given to all men; and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.*

*To thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens propoſals; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in*

*thoſe*

*these difficulties, wherewith they lye in wait to afflict me. O Lord, make thy way plain before me.*

*Let not my own ſinful paſſions cloud or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.*

*Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.*

*I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.*

*Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits; make me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my ſouls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.*

*The leſſe wiſdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſſeneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.*

*Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſignes, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my conſent.*

*Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.*

*Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, of whoſe affection to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure me.*

*Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.*

*Since we muſt give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me careful of theſe ſolemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the publick, either for woe, or weal.*

*The leſſe others conſider what they ask, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.*

*Though*

*Though mine own, and my peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord never ſuffer me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expence or waſte of my conſcience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deſervedly more maſter then my ſelf.*

## XII. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall finde the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens malice againſt Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to My ſelf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, That what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with My privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſſion? But theſe knew too well, That it is no news for ſome of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commiſſion, but againſt My command; and perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles

are

are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward Me, I muſt bear the blame; this honour My Enemies have alwayes done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent tryals, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of My affliction; Charging Me not onely with untruths, but ſuch as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe & diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) *I* might be repreſented by them to the Word, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick Monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh & blood of My own Subjects, in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lyes, as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, That the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not prediſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where diſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome principles of their Religion, and the natural

deſires

desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designes they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose Tears and Blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil Dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been affected with *Irelands* sad estate, then My self: I offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here, lesse then My self; or that any should have the glory of My destruction, but themselves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the Ruine had been so great, nor the Calamity so long, nor the Remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those that began that Rebellion theirs must needs be; who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Ayds, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatning all Extreamities, not onely to the known Heads, and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Resolving to destroy

Root

and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for Mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, or diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepeſterous and (I think) unevangelical zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their Revenge, then to call down fire from Heaven upon whole Cities for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chooſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies, ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others with tenders of Mercy upon the ſubmiſsion, and our protection of them from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kinde of zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruel then accounted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficial, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much

much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I t
on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Inte
ty, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels I
ſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and
patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in My reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better ſkill to let blood, then to ſtench it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is falſe and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny My Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo far to try My patience, as he did his ſervant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do, to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoak, or ſparks do out of a fornace; much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other. I thank God, *I* can hear with patience, as bad as My worſt Enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

*I* believe it wil at leaſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyl My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My Enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms exhauſted out of My own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as My ſelf: And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil Wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciful Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

*O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.*

*Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.*

*Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of errour and bitterneſſe, of mutual and mortal hatred to ariſe among us.*

*O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.*

*Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great ſinnes have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmal failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.*

*O therefore, according to the multitude of thy g[illegible] mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.*

*Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.*

*In the ſea of our Saviours blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.*

*As my publick relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my people.*

*Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.*

*O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in* Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

*And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles, which they act, under an opinion, that they do thee good ſervice.*

*Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.*

*Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on* Niniveh *for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole flock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruel; not to their anger which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

*Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice, a poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.*

*And*

*And deal with me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.*

*If I have deſired, or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; Then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou O Lord knoweſt right well: but I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.*

## XIII. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that party, before My own Intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royal bounty emboldens ſome men to aſk, and act beyond the bounds of modeſty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconſtancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good: I pray God it may ſo prove.

The coming again of that party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New Model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they [redacted] (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes [redacted] Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirm the Preſbyterian copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the Divine Juſtice; I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Form which they cry up, as the onely juſt Reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the Engliſh Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Preſbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different opperations; That they may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings, both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe poin:s, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars diſputing in free and learned Schools.

Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe Truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church men in *England*, who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becauſe that party of the *Scots* will needs by Force aſſiſt a like party here, either to drive al Miniſters, as ſheep, into the common fold of Preſbytery, or deſtroy them, at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. *If* the *Scotch* ſole Preſbytery were proved to be the onely inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove, that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where

they lived, is very clear in the Goſpel; but that [redacted] or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a parity of Preſbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavour, *I* think is not very diſputable.

*If* Preſbytery, in ſuch a ſupremacy, be an inſtitution of Chriſt; ſure it differs from all others, and is the firſt and onely point of Chriſtianity, that was to be planted and watred with ſo much Chriſtian blood; whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream, ſo contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens: ſure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of covetouſneſſe or ambition, of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move Me with, by their many ſolemn obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but onely this, To repreſent to Me, the wonderful neceſſity of ſetting up their Preſbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſigne at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schiſms, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patern, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? All which Preſbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, and render odious under thoſe Names; when Wiſe and Learned men think, That nothing hath more marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm, then this Preſbyterian way, both as to the ancient, and ſtill moſt univerſal way of the Church-Government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I ſee more rational and Religious motives, then

them Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My Self ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much *I* eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine own, and the ſalvation of mens Souls, above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, *I* think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved both My own and other mens *Conſciences* by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle My Religion, nor any mans elſe, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is Force; the Arbitrator of Beaſts, not of reaſonable Men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, that have ſome temptation of gain to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in againſt My will, and their forfeiture of ſo many Obligations of duty and gratitude to Me, then I wondred, how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods

cauſe

cauſe to the people, as if they had the certainty of ſome Divine Revelation: conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the juſtifiableneſſe of their doings and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the people: What cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their Aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk-Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a far cheaper rate, the Truth and Happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom, for their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Juſtice, and Mans Folly, will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes: In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me; ſo, I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any party of the people, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However, the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My Self to GOD.

*The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſſe.*

*Lord, direct thy ſervant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.*

*Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves innocency.*

*Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my ſoul, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honour.*

*Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of* Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue him.*

*Preſerve the love of thy Truth and Vprightneſſe in me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.*

*Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.*

*O my God, I truſt in thee: let me not be aſhamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.*

*Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe: let them be turned back that perſecute my Soul.*

*Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.*

*Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.*

## XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them by a ſolemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretenſions are brought, chiefly to batter or raſe Epiſcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemn a Charm and Exorciſm be caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſal preſcription of time and practice in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times, till this laſt Century.

But no Antiquity muſt plead for it, Preſbytery, like a yong Heir, thinks the Father, hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Preſbytery into *England*, which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be enga-

geeby no leſſe, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear Moral neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oathes can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones ſelf, and that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires: which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oathes upon people, muſt needs in things doubtful, be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, To maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the popularity faſt to their partjes, under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared party, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from God or Mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, ſufficient, either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe Moral and Eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charity to think

think, That the chief end of the Covenant, in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and means, they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe that have any true touches of Conſcience, endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that Title of the *Covenant*: unleſſe they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My Self.

I am prone to believe, and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch latter Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawful Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety, are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion and Laws; which by ſuch ſcrews are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aym to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then Force attends and twiſts them: For every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but

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onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a party caſt upon him; either ſuperfluous, and vain, when they were ſufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments, they finde the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegal wayes ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the party and deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any Salvo's, Cautions, and Reſervations, ſo as they croſs not the chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming increaſe to their party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of ſome general clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their places and callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: For, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular

ticular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within their lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond, and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My Self, or the publick Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and complyance, contrary to their former Judgements, profeſſion, and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches*, abroad, nor by any men of learning and candor, at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens, now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward then My ſelf, to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement and a good Conſciente, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe: I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, freeſt, & wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſome mens actions makes it evident, That the main Reformation intended, is, The abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery, and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their

legal

legal Rights, then the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the onely blaſphemer of his City, and fit to dye. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fils the ſails, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with My conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My ſoul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh*'s divinity, and *Joſeph*'s true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Taſk; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the Red-ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour *Henry* the third ſometime did, on the Churches alms, then violently

lently to take the bread out of the Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboams* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the people to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which, how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin, not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſor of the other, under the pretence of publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them, were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them, would be much worſe; I pray God neither, I nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

*To thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe my prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my Subjects ſwearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Conſcience.*

*ſciences; From which, no pretenſions of piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.*

*Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.*

*Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.*

*Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of religious ties.*

*Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.*

*Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity, of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.*

*Though my Treaſures are exhauſted, my Revenues diminiſhed, and my Debts encreaſed, yet never ſuffer me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine altar ſet ſuch a fire on my Throne and Conſcience, as will be hardly quenched.*

*Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.*

*The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the purity of moſt men is grown ſo cold, and their Religion ſo liberal.*

*Continue to thoſe that ſerve thee and thy Church, all thoſe encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the juſtice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Prieſts may be cloathed with righteouſneſſe, and the poor may be ſatisfied with bread.*

*Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread*

*bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.*

*Let thoſe ſacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them, nor theirs; Let them be as* Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouthes, rottenneſſe to their names, a Moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

*Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriouſly.*

*Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandied together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.*

*But ſo favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.*

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## XV. *Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* KING, *to ſtir up the people againſt Him.*

If I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falſities ſeek to oppreſſe the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of real cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe deſignes: For I can more willingly loſe My Crown, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms ſo dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude among poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt My peoples love of Me:

that

that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My peoples ſouls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſpon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not onely not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found, but My pity was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours, more then their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed Errours, not My Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better ſervice, [illegible] My people more good, then hitherto I have done. [illegible] do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, [illegible]ich occaſioned their loyal injuries, then I am am[illegible]itious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few,

few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers, to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary windes, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine, then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; I could expiate, or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights & Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as

between

between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Lyars need have good memories, ſo malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did *I* not more conſider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil manners, and ſeared conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals which they have caſt on Me; and make the World ſee, There is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation, even with the people, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame the higheſt degree of Infamy; and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect and ſearch My own Innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety: For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Me and My cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or

ſpeak

ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded, That theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truely Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange, that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe; curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements, muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am ſo lyable to in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion; whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well-tryed Foundations both of

Truth

Truth and order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the confeſſion and conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments, in the moſt calm and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall have ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were My Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it; eſpecially thoſe, who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of Duty, Allegiance and Subjuction. The firſt they own as Men and Chriſtians, to God: the ſecond they owe to Me in common, as their King: Different profeſſions in point of Religion, cannot (any more then in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the World again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with Me) without any ſcruple as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did *I* more then is lawful for any King, in ſuch exigents, to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, then many Proteſtant profeſſors; who ſeem to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed

Indeed it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me (and very pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of indifferent beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects, as Men, no leſſe then their prayers, as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evil Counſellours was another uſeful device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels, but their own, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a Drench, that muſt be poured down, then a draught, which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

*I* will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties, My ſelf, or My Councellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch, as were far more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormious extravagances, wherewith ſome men have now even wildred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things, at laſt, will make it evident to My Subjects, That had I followed the worſt counſels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe, I could not ſo ſoon have brought forth Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdoms, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redreſſe, what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorry to ſee Mee prone even to injure

My

My Self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; and withal, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the divineſt Liberty be, to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according Reaſon, Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me, ſo prodigal of their liberties, as with their lives and fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous deſignes, over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and people, will ever deſire greater freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his Safety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable Liberty.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, That thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, That it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch Muſick.

*In* point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of indifferent opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to extend much of thoſe plentiful Eſtates they got and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and increaſe the ungrateful Inſolencies of My people.

For

For Mine Honour, I am well assured, That as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral Birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and merciful God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against Me? wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) then those men do, who, pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their King against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not honour their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom, all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may, without sin, seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true Glory and Majesty.

*Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my reproach, and my diſhonour, my adverſaries are all before thee.*

*My ſoul is among Lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the ſons of men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.*

*Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworn together.*

*O my God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?*

*Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt my enemies prevail againſt me, and lay mine honour in the duſt.*

*Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirſty, and deceitful men.*

*Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon day.*

*Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again, and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.*

*Thou that wouldeſt not ſuffer* Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy judgements on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainful reproaches; Give mee grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.*

*Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.*

*Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evil ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer, for their repentance, and thy pardon.*

*Teach me* Davids *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

*Let*

*Let* Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward me.*

*Though they curſe, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.*

*That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.*

*Look down from Heaven, and ſave me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.*

*Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.*

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## XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the Name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the people, then to tell them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed; and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their

Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary vein & fluency: or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſſe of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober & learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety, to make what profane objections they could againſt it; eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing ſet and preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt, but that wholſome words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite & carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a well-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then of other things, wherein the conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſes the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appe-

tite

tite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own intention and gifts, that they not onely diſguiſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought, that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for intention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions, in publick prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, then unpremeditated & confuſed variety, to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their

ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo found, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions, when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order and gravity becoming thoſe duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration, to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, and defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and piety of the ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of publick compoſure.

The

The want of which, I believe, this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſms, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe Innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-Book; or refuſed to uſe it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of piety to God, and obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended conſcientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in other extemporary way,

comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some Faction of the people, by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weakness and giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own Forms, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgses hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

*And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou denyest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.*

*Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-advised Devotions.*

*Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.*

And

*And then we doubt not, but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.*

*Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.*

*Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.*

*And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under their fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.*

*Lord, keep us from formal Hypocriſie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with* David *and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

*Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.*

*Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.*

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## XVII. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, That I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of the peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory, to let in or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intruſted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and Sate; I ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpition, that I incline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his conſcience.

I muſt now in charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarineſſe of people, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Preſbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles, of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of the temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops (that I may have a title to their Eſtates)

not

not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbyaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſours, the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the World ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patern: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years, not one example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations which had not ſome Biſhops above them, under whoſe Juriſdiction and Government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practice agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-Directions and Examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*; for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them, as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Preſbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name, were then, and may now, not improperly be called *Biſhops*,

as

as to the care and overſight of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles; or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Preſbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile, appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpecial dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until uſe (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name, thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, & above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propogation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power, of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches; which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine Right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound Doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers; and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſs.

Who

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmoother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical examples, whereon My judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal practiſe the beſt commentary; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government it cannot be thought that an ordinary Subordination among Preſbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion; then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral Orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſt, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of Schiſm and Diviſion, as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied ſo many Congregations,

and

and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church, which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsel and consent of many Presbyters: *I* have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burthen, and *odium* of affairs, which may lye too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can *I* see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And *I* finde they have as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they

are

are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon, why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who, governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian World, are many more then Preſbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops, would equalize (*I* think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian World (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they and all before them, have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtraied from the unity and conformity of the Church, in that point; ever having Biſhops above Preſbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy

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is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own intereſt: for Preſbytery is never ſo conſiderable, or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform, whatever the

ſuſt

ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or perſons; which ſeditious and popular principle, and practice, all wiſe men abhor.

For thoſe ſecular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour, and Eſtate, which My Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes, in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I look upon them but as juſt rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthnings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governours by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates; poverty and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I ſhould have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe encouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Preſbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equal; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the people.

This for My judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian World, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their King and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of My Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Preſbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths; That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Preſbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if Ignorance, Superſtition, Avarice, Revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens mindes againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive paterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome men's zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery of GOD (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church

Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church?

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of Truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any Man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, That My Coronation Oath bindes Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch Violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes, yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange

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with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of Opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe paterns are ſo cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods bleſſing) which might make Me believe either Preſbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated as much as the uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Preſbyters, and ſober people; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Preſbyters deſpiſed, nor people oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

*For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe; as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt my Conſcience.*

*Arife, O Lord, maintain thine own cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.*

*Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpful*

My lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſential liberty of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil diſſentions, till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor, as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and, whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give My conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots*, in point of Church-Government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſſful, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekne[ſſe], Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty, in thoſe t[hat] pretend to other modes of Government, I migh[t] ſuſpect My judgement to be byaſed or fore-ſtalled

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*helpful to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed, others paſſe by, without regarding either to pity or relieve.*

*As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.*

*And though I am not ſuffered to be maſter of my other Rights as a King, yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

*Preſerve, from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporal bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.*

*Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and ſubtile Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.*

*O let me not bear the infamous brand, to all poſterity, of being the firſt Chriſtian King in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it: whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, then expoſe their perſons, and ſacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

*Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it from unreaſonable men, whoſe councels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſms, and diſorders.*

*O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.*

*That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.*

XVIII. *Upon*

## XVIII. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men, whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it, having greater confidence of My Reason, then My sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of peace, as earnestly desired by Me, as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one *I* could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour and Conscience would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My peoples happinesse, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindred My Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever those demands were made; some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My Self, and Favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage; what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition, had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is more agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also, to the Primitive Apostolical patern, and the practice of the Universal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wils and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue

ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods truth, then Mans peace; and rather loſe the Churches honour, then croſſe ſome mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame for the un-ſucceſſefulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of peace to My people, then the preſervation of My own Crowns to My Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condeſcending, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffeneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, alwayes to aſk ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My Self by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the World ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the

unſucceſſefulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implyed ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo, though peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

*O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf: who wanteſt not power or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians: How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to war?*

*Condemn us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.*

*Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy truth, both in Reaſon, as Men, and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.*

*Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.*

*Remove the evils of War we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that peace, which onely Chriſt our peace-maker can merit.*

XIX. *Upo*

## XIX. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy War, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: Sometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee, that *I* was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the injuſtice of My Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me, wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and Me: Nor were My Enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary tumults.

There is no doubt, but perſonal and private ſins may oft-times over-ballance the juſtice of publick Engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the Worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War, a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own ſkill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me; in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence, as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governours; which can never be ſuch, as ſome ſide or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion againſt them; ſome Paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with truth be applyed onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this World: who having no advantagious deſignes by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My Self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The reſurrection of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine, ſerving as

gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpitious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the World have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrey doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn

true

true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty, and be as faithful to God and their own Souls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on My own Subjects, who like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights, by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly, who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over my ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of Divine Juſtice, by contrary windes to winnow us: That, by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My

My often Meſſages for peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had *I* yeilded leſſe, *I* had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh onely a happy concluſion, of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſin unſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting one againſt another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My people, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

*O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.*

*Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my Enemies, by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.*

*Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.*

*Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings, which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.*

*Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou mayeſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.*

*Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compel me to inflict upon them, puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.*

*Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a ſufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which only can be ſufficient for me.*

*As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed; that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of thoſe civil diſtractions, but a chief inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed peace to my Kingdoms.*

*Shit up all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-denial, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all, is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.*

*If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War, thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy ſervant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy*

*that*

*that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.*

*Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles; for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.*

## XX. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO glory is more to be envied, then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo far, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of Manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled, which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular complyance, the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schiſms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in Sacred Adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious

rious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The greater miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome parties, hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality, are ſure the beſt Tempers of Reforming Councels and endeavours: What is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

*I* have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Councels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, *I* diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men, cried up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them; (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution at leaſt [illegible] of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any re-

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gard to their former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, againſt examples of all ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and My conſent, which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on My underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſal practice of the Church, in things not contary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Preſbytery, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Preſbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels; and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſigns; which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, (which

which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead; which ſerved but to put poſterity in minde, to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities, in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errors, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound, and clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years Conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious and deceitfull Reformations (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws, and long

long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War: by the advantages of which, they resoved, if they prevailed, to make My self, and all My Subjects, fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the Pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, and the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designs as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil state, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs kingdom may be set up, without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truely intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions;

sions; unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, Order out of our Confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaical waſhings, in ſtead of Chriſtian reformings.*

*Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſouls.*

*That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and uprightneſſe of heart, be a means to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.*

*Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of reforming.*

*As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements, ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſels, whom thy providence in juſt and lawful wayes ſhall intruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work. That I and my people may be ſo bleſt with inward pietie, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.*

## XXI. *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly

hardly have expected; ſo they know not how with honour and civility to uſe it: Nor do I think, with ſober and worthy mindes, any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſſe, being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations, being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My papers; the freedom and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane, then to expoſe them to publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, *I* am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to God's omniſcience) ſhould bee diſcovered to the World, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into my moſt retired thoughts.

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My own Rights, then to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extream grief, to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, then to ſee My conſtancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of My Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies; no man can blame Me, who loves Me, or the Commonwealth, ſince My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The Word may ſee how ſoon mens deſigne, like *Abſoloms*,

*Abſaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities; but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury My expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious expreſſions; yet the innocency of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act My own and My Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evil Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrel with, under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other then good for Me; which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity

gains

gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as diverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this World.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectual to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte My credit with My people; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect, and Loyalty to Me; that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit, is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of My life, and My Kingdoms: Firſt, I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled firſt to follow the Funerals of My Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Juſtice, can and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wils and deſigns of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the beſt of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do *I* think that by the ſurprize of My Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and honour, which they owe to their King, preſent and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions; have they never ſo much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the Divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſſe which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the people.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or proſperous, who thought, by this means, to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My people; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey; in caſe they had diſcovered any real uncomelineſſe, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and I believe, hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by puniſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as *a vile perſon*, not fit to bee truſted, or conſidered under any notion of Majeſty.

*But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.*

*As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of* Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.*

*I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe theſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe papers of mine, to repreſent to the world.*

*Make*

*Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads; that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a cloak.*

*Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.*

*But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.*

*Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knowes how to serve thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil.*

*Thou, O Lord, art the Fountain of goodnesse and honour, thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.*

*Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and Eternal.*

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## XXII. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the Scots.*

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head; shewing Me, that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly trust My self, and My now distressed affairs upon his mercy,

mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now My Counſellour, and commands Me to ſtudy My ſafety, by a diſguiſed withdrawing from My chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their loyalty, who firſt began My troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This My confidence of Them, may diſarm and overcome them: My rendring My perſon to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the World ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Councellour and My Comforter. Though I put My body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve My Soul to God and My ſelf; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell Me to defert Mine honour, or ſwerve from My Judgement.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſual confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough, to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed Me; this method of peace may be more proſperous then that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to clo

thoſe

those wounds already made: And in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play, to know when a game is lost; better, fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls Liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no successe darkens or disguises Truth to Me; and I shall no lesse conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the Divinest power: I shall never think My self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclypse of outward fortune shall rob Me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids Me deny.

I shall never think My self lesse then My self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience; the onely Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

*O thou Soveraign of Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.*

*As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battel, so thou must still shew me thy strength in my weakness.*

Be

*Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.*

*Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſſe of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my perſon, peace, and ſafety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wrest them from me.*

*Suffer not my juſt Reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany me, in my ſolitude and deſertions.*

*Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.*

*Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.*

*Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.*

## XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the* KING *to the Engliſh, and His Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe Scots to all the World in this, that they have not deceived Me, for I never truſted to them further then to men: If I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould do it; and that My price ſhould be ſo much above My Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy My ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out My hopes to others.

The

The ſolitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives Me leiſure enough to ſtudy the Worlds vanity and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Frends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin; nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got My perſon into their power; ſince My Soul is ſtill Mine own: nor ſhall they ever gain My conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellours with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome Men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which, though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be My ſnare, nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle My ſoul: Better others betray Me, then My ſelf: and that the price of My liberty ſhould be My Conſcience; the greateſt injuries My Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without My own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither

know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to Me, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honour of My Crowns, and the welfare of My people; which My Word may injure, more then any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Laws will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death muſt be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, His Souls, His Peoples, and Poſterities thraldom.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew My Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them: happily I might redeem My ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Me alone.

*For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better then life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.*

*Own me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.*

*Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Reli-*

*as a Christian; and with constancy in Justice, as a King.*

*Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self, and which cannot be taken from me against my will.*

*Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.*

*There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor majesty.*

*Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.*

*My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeared, my person restrained: O be thou not far from me; lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.*

*I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.*

*Show some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldest have me.*

*Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.*

*Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God: Though thou kill me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.*

*I know that my Redeemer liveth, though thou lead me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.*

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## XXIV. *Upon their denying His Majesty the attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best

be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time, ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, *I* never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined Me unto, addes the Wilderneſſe to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more ſad then any ſolitude can be.

If I had aſked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had no wonder to have been denied in thoſe where the evil policy of men forbids all juſt reception, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation. But to deny Me the ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplains, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom, though the juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave My Soul.

Other ſenſe, Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Re-

queſt

queſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of My Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought, the Unchriſtianneſſe of of thoſe denials, might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had, to ſee Me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent Comforters or Phyſitians, who (have ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotional complyance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo [illegible]niouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, [illegible]n prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and [illegible]comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of perfection, conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that *I* have hazarded My own Intereſt, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom, the more I looked upon, as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although *I* am very unhandſomely

requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for My ſufferings, then their own ungrateful errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choiſe of ſome for My ſpecial Attendants, who were beſt approved in My Judgement, and moſt ſutable to My affection. For, *I* held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſs, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſide-rate of Gods Majeſty, the Churches Honour, [redacted] own Vileneſs; both knowing what things Go[redacted] him to aſk, & in what manner it becomes a Sin[redacted] ſupplicate the Divine Mercy for himſelf and others. I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to Men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn My heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which, as I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to o-thers, do require ſo great exactneſſe, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of unde-ſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold t[redacted]

[redacted]

main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſional, ſolitary, and ſocial Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equal mindes, with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains, before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin, of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and [illegible]y of this Church. But I had rather be condemn[illegible] the woe of *Væ ſoli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hy-*[illegible]*æ*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by My Deniers, inſufficient of My ſelf to diſcharge My duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the ſame perſon; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, then thoſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables, and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of thoſe the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious, to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdom and providence hath, for the moſt part, alwayes diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings, of Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or injoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of Kingly power and Soveraignty, would no leſſe enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſſe I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts & prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections leſſe diſtracted, then thoſe, which are encombred with ſecular affairs: beſides, *I* think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties, [redacted] are rightly performed, as proper to, and wi[redacted] limits of that calling, to which God and the Ch[redacted] have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that ſpiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to CHRIST, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God; every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honour of a Royal Prieſthood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical order, and the outward polity of the Church, *I* think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt, and I think, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſſe to My ſpiritual defects, make Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Preſbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of My Subjects to reduc[redacted]

Me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie & offence to deny me, then this, of having ſome means afforded Me for My ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this, That they may ſeem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf; though *I* muſt confeſſe, I bear with more grief and impatience, the want of My Chaplains, then of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome [redacted]) to the being ſequeſtred from My Wife and [redacted]n; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane [redacted]temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help My infirmities in prayer, Reading, and Meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator or Inſtructer.

*To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſſe, and quicken my dulneſſe.*

*O thou Sun of Righteouſneſſe, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by inſtructing of mee, and interceding for*

*me. In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all ſufficiency; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.*

*The ſingle wreſtlings of* Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

*O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of peace.*

*O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.*

*It is now thy pleaſure, that I ſhould be as a Pe[illegible] the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, [illegible] Coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devo[illegible] flections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.*

*Yet, O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.*

*O let the hardneſſe of their hearts, occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires, the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine ear to me, who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot; nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help me thy deſolate Suppliant.*

Thou

*Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.*

*O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not deſpiſe.*

*Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee, who preparеſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceptеſt of me.*

*Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oil in the cruiſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.*

*O look on my Soul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate [illegible]rſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly [illegible], now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of [illegible] Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſom food, for the refreſhing of my Soul.*

*Which yet I had rather chuſe, then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching me; whoſe mouthes are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.*

*Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.*

*Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.*

*O let not thoſe mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.*

*From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares*

*of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words, ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my Soul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.*

## XXV. *Penitential Meditations and Vows in the Kings ſolitude at* Holmby.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

*I.* ſaid in mine haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, ſhouldeſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is [redacted] with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefo[redacted] ſinners flye unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my perſonal and my peoples ſins; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a priſoner to my own ſubjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy overruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of *Davids* piety; yet ſince I may equal *Davids* afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered,

ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee, though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged, O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

*I* had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity, deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee, be againſt me and my Fathers houſe, as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee, ſo hear and accept this Vow, which *I* make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice.

*In* ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the ancient Rights and Glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe *C*ivil Wars.

*If* thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedom of publick Counſels, and deliver the honour of Parliaments from the inſolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence, of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity, to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy Name before My people.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power, be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my people with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own, as the rightful ſucceſſion, ſo the merciful reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, ſafety and honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand, to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and Reſolution of Chriſtian Charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Chriſts ſake, thoſe that have offended me in any kinde; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man, to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnatural diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the wayes of amneſty and indempnity, which may moſt fully remove all fears, and bury all jealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I, that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy Name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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## XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprizal of the* KING *at* Holmby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practice will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tels the World, that a KING cannot

cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, then in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Preſbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions, were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatal deſtruction of that City.

Well may *I* change My Keepers and Priſon, but not My captive conditiou, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingemuous then the Preſbyterian rigour, who, ſometimes complaining of over acting their conformity to Laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novel injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My conſent.

'Tis a greater argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice,

vice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which, ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrors and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde, as not to ſee herein the hand of Divine Juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flye to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed them, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men. Now the Fliers from, and the Forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and the Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where

where men look more to preſent Advantages, then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped, and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer any thing, unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of My prayers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, fore-ſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings, which will certainly befal ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilful, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde, that Brethren in iniquity, are not far from becoming inſolent enemies; there being nothing harder,

harder, then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions, which go rather in a round and circle of fancy, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publick peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them, then My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch Men to maintain My Self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

§ *But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided. Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my people, and make me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.*

*Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of peace, from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the joynt and due obſervation of the Laws.*

*Make*

*Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.*

*Make me even ſuch as thou wouldeſt have me, that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquillity, which thou alone canſt give me.*

*Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath, juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to adde fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, and their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.*

*Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wills to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, leſt their calamity come upon them as an armed man.*

*Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in ſin, nor ſhall they be long un-diſarmed and un-deſtroyed, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee, and the clear convictions of their own conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, then ever they did againſt me.*

*Their ſins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confuſion.*

*Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.*

*Let me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.*

*The tears they have denied me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves; who, the leſſe they weep for me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.*

*O let not my blood be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.*

*But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own juſtice.*

## XXVII. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartial thoughts, touching the chief paſſages which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd, they may be ſo far uſeful to You, as to ſtate Your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made: and they may alſo give You ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

*It* is ſome kinde of deceiving and leſſening the injury of My long reſtraint, when I finde My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſeful to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure the Cauſe by My Succeſſe; nor My judgement of things by My misfortunes: which *I* count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings *I* have a greater ſence, then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdome You have above moſt Princes, that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exerciſe of patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in Winter, then in warmth and ſerenity of times;

or

or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, ſuch as tend to the publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education, the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flouriſhing Kingdom; the other ſoftned, by the unparaleld proſperity of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted, to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adverſity, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*, Good, then Great; I hope God hath deſigned You to both, having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces, and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty You can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing *Godry*, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; alſo in the diſpenſation of Civil power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick peace.

Piety.

Piety will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from being miserable: nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happinesse, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup, whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope you are already, well grounded and setled in Your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred Bond, which education hath written, that it may be judiciously Your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which You professe.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming neerest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion, will not be more necessary for Your Souls, then Your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well setled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters

of

of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Noveltie, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well ſetled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains You not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth You in others; who think themſelves and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by You: Take ſuch a courſe, as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of power, that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſy, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect leſſe of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, than from thoſe, who ingage into religious Rebellion: Their intereſt is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years, ſo complyant were they to publick Order: nor indeed was their party great, either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffect-

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ed part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that ſide, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Preſbytery, their great Maſter: till time and Military ſucceſſe, diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Preſbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to You, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace; ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming, and effectual ſuppreſſing Errors and Schiſms, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breadth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done juſtice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of Truth and Unity in Religion: The next main thing on which Your proſperity will depend and move, is, that of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent Rules You can govern by; which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws, to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge Your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour or ſafety to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed, in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worſe then legal Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My Sufferings, as to the Worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt Me, but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed, before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, that what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will You, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of theſe preſſures and indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſollicitous, what wrong I ſuffer from Men, while I retain in My ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

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To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will; My counsel and charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles; that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions, by the crosseness & asperity of some mens passions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them; such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed, that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all; or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye, and impartial hand distribute favours

vours and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodneſſe, both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too: who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer wayes of vertue at any time ſweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear; but they are divided to ſo high a rivalty, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other; then againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not leſſe cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps clothing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that You ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and vertue, towards the people) even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your people; who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from

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any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Factions, shall by the sun shine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of Your vertues, be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressors of their estates, Liberties and Consciences, then those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way noxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You always propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and

You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and [illegible] Injuries, will feel in their own ſouls moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As your quality ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your minde muſt raiſe You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own merits, upon Your people, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to You, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and ſin, can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never ſee My face again, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat You as Your Father, and Your King, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tryed it, and after much ſearch and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt

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in the World; not onely in the community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way, betwe[illegible] pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the [illegible]e of fantastick Anarchy.

Nor but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing, which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this; That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*; which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution; but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse; but will rather be as in-

terchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and [illegible]ople.

Nor would th[illegible] of this black Parliament have been other th[illegible] (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preserve that Freedom and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this Yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable wayes, to contribute their Counsels in common, enacting all things by publick consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Right, but God in his severest justice will punish My Subjects, with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honour will consist, in Your preferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me; and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse Me with so many hopeful Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and pati-

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ence, to suffer both for and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank [illegible] wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocen[illegible]nis Grace) that he would be pleased to make [illegible] Anchor or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some have so far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God, not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or inaged against Me; through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders; whose inward honour will be their first tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will finde them truly zealous to pay with interest, that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In sum, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give You power: much good *I* have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizard will fall off a[illegible]ce: This maſk of Religion, on the face of Rebellion [illegible] now plainly appears, ſince My reſtraint and [illegible]ige, that they fought not for Me, as was p[illegible]d) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their ſin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh Your Kingdoms in Righteouſneſſe, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by My deſtruction; let My Memory ever, with My Name, live in You, as of Your Father that loves You; and once a King of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My people, and My own Conſcience; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me, then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope He will reſtore Me to My Rights: I cannot deſpair either of His mercy, or of My peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII.

## XXVIII. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death; for I know there are but few ſteps between the priſons and graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, wch lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt Me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperity made Me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an eclypſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity, hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpecial horror of it, as to My particular much allayed: For, although My death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me, with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the

Antidote

Antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I did never finde so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good *Conscience*, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, *I* am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christian life, *to dye daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, *I* think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My people; for which, as *I* have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: Notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long and tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour

honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Chriſtian valour; it argues puſillanimity to deſire to dye out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian, in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or inlarged, as the Sunne of our proſperity moves higher or lower, whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſons* Lion, but they yeeld much ſweetneſſe to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds, without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of My years, in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators: My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: Whom I do not think to flatter for long life, by ſeeming prepared to dye; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will, both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for Me, to contend with thoſe many horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſs

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of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greateſt ſolemnalities, which by My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will [illegible] be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice, that I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy [illegible] make My death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man, inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and Man, to endeavour My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be his Accuſors, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My blood, ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and Man; and I believe, in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after, by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel, in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applyed onely to diſguiſe at firſt, the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, That I would not either deſtroy My ſelf with the Church and State, by My word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition, no Conceſſions

ceſſions of mine could ever yet either ſatisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thrive, that Kingdom of Brambles, which ſome men ſo erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or Man), is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will finde him both My *Protector*, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as a King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much, as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My blood, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe *I* have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death, is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up Death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My

My Next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate is example *in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake*, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them and pray for them, that God would not impute My blood to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts blood to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeemes to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſignes by My Death; forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

*I* bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſs from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death, are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; *I* ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit, by their hands, to take it from Me; whoſe mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death will far ſurpaſſe all *I* could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this World, when My God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the World; I know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyranny of My Deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny againſt Me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who do not onely pitty and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects; by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions hath hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by My ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Me, in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruel, as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport & ſtrength, they chiefly depended for

their building, and eſtabliſhing their deſignes again Me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death, conſiſts in My peace, which, *I* truſt, I have made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal, I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between Me and My cauſeleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the Juſtice of My Cauſe, and clearneſſe of My Conſcience before God, and toward My people, will carry Me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Me in the vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men, are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the World, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous windes which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in My enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedom and honour of Parliaments, the rights of My Crown, the juſt liberty of My Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements, then if *I* had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, over-born them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects, will contribute much to the ſweetning

of

of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo), then they can give it [illegible] whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſinnes and ſorrows attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling Me; for whom I have hither to ſuffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, againſt Error, Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of Death, which I owe for ſin to Nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of My own ſin, as from God, and the effect of others ſins, as men, both againſt God and Me; yet as I hope My own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, ſo *I* deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of My deſtruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that My temporal death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Sudject.

Nor

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt Me over-board; though it be a ſtrange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whoſe malice in this *I* ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed My Soul with My Body; of whoſe ſalvation; while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtaurations, denying Me even the aſſiſtance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obſtructed My acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

*Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the Fountain of Eternal life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.*

*Thou, O God, art both the juſt inflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

*Yea; it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee; then by living in our ſelves, to be deprived of thee.*

*O make the many bitter aggravations of my death, as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Chriſtian.*

*If thou Lord wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of Death.*

*To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.*

*O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me as a man; make me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee my God.*

*Though*

*Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt encouraged me to truſt in thee for eternal life.*

*O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.*

*O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to me.*

*As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.*

*O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.*

*Thou giveſt me leave, as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian, by the example of Chriſt, to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.*

*Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death*

*As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errors of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrors of death.*

*Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain: and in death, advantage.*

*Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.*

*For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?*

*Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.*

*Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many, that crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.*

*O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine againſt them.*

*Prepare*

*Prepare them for thy mercy, by due convictions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own ſouls by fallacious pretenſions of juſtice in deſtroying me while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power a-gainſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.*

*O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruel: who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.*

*O deal not with them as blood thirſty and deceitful men: but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.*

*And when thou makeſt inquiſition for my blood, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent ſouls with the blood of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.*

*Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercy at laſt receive both me and my enemies.*

*When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortal enmities.*

*When their hand ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me; O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercy.*

*That which is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-bleſſed Eternity.*

*Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy Salvation.*

Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt.

THE

# THE PAPERS

Which paſſed; First, between His MAJESTY and Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, *An. Dom.* 1646.

Secondly, Between His MAJESTY and Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caril*, and Mr. *Seaman*, Miniſters attending the Commiſſioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*. *An. Dom.* 1648.

Concerning Church-Government. With His MAJESTIES Quære about *EASTER*.

To which are added, His MAJESTIES Prayers.

Sundry other things relating to His MAJESTIES Death.

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The

# For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon.*

## *His* MAJESTIES *firſt Paper.*

Mr. *Henderſon*,

I Know very well what a great diſadvantage it is for Me, to maintain an Argument of Divinity with ſo able and learned a Man as your ſelf, it being your, not My profeſſion; which really was the cauſe that made Me deſire to hear ſome learned Man argue My Opinion with you, of whoſe abilities I might be confident, that *I* ſhould not be led into an Errour, for want of having all which could be ſaid, laid open unto Me: For indeed, My humour is ſuch, that I am ſtill partial for that ſide, which I imagine ſuffers for the weakneſſe of thoſe that maintain it; alwayes thinking that equal Champions would caſt the ballance on the other part; Yet ſince that you (thinking that it will ſave time) deſire to go another way, I ſhall not conteſt with you in it, but treating you as My Phyſician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; onely I thought fit to warn you, leſt if you, (not I) ſhould be miſtaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin a new.

Then know, that from My Infancy *I* was bleſt with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happineſſe to Me, all his

dayes, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to ſettle Me right in Religion; in the true Knowledge of which, he made himſelf ſo eminent to all the World, that I am ſure, none can call in queſtion the brightneſſe of his Fame in that particular, without ſhewing their own ignorant baſe malice: He it was, who laid in Me the Grounds of Chriſtianity, which to this day I have been conſtant in; ſo that whether the worthineſſe of My Inſtructor be conſidered, or the not few years that I have been ſetled in My Principles; it ought to be no ſtrange thing, if it be found no eaſie work, to make Me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to S. *Pauls* rule, *Rom.* 14.22.) been happy in *Not condemning my ſelf, in that thing which I allow.* Thus having ſhewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to theſe preſent miſerable diſtractions.

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, then that it was done (according to the Apoſtles defence, *Acts* 24.18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by thoſe, whom I conceive to have onely the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made Me alwayes confident that the work was very perfect, as to Eſſentials; of which number Church-government being undoubtedly one, I put no queſtion, but that would have been likewiſe altered, if there had been cauſe; which opinion of mine, was ſoon turned into more then a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I muſt ſay of all the reſt) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to be the conſtant univerſal cuſtom of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it, we ſhould deprive our ſelves of a lawful Prieſthood; and then, how the Sacraments can be duly adminiſtred, is eaſie to judge: Theſe are the principal Reaſons, which make Me believe that Bi-

ſhops

ſhops are neceſſary for a Church, and, I think, ſufficient for Me (if *I* had no more) not to give My conſent for their expulſion out of *England*; but I have another Obligation, that to My particular, is a no leſſe tie of Conſcience, which is, My *Coronation Oath*: Now if (as *S. Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 14. 23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I ſhould, not onely give way knowingly to My peoples ſinning, but likewiſe be perjured My ſelf?

Now conſider, ought I not to *keep my ſelf from preſumptuous ſins?* and you know who ſayes, *What doth it profit a man, though he ſhould gain the whole world, and loſe his own Soul?* Wherefore My conſtant maintenance of *Epiſcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government ſince Chriſtianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, ſhould be rather commended then wondered at; My Conſcience directing Me to maintain the Laws of the Land; which being onely My endeavours at this time, I deſire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conſcience? or to make him alter Laws againſt his will?* If this be not My preſent caſe, I ſhall be glad to be miſtaken; or, if My Judgement in Religion hath been miſled all this time, I ſhall be willing to be better directed: till when, you muſt excuſe Me, to be conſtant to the Grounds which the *King My Father* taught Me.

*C. R.*

*Newcaſtle,*
*May* 29. 1646.

# For His Majesty.

## Mr. *Alex. Henderſons* firſt Paper.

*Sir,*

1. IT is your Majeſties Royal goodneſſe, and not My merit, that hath made your Majeſty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the ſmalleſt teſtimony from your Majeſty) ought in all duty to be improved for your Majeſties ſatisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modeſt expreſſion of the true motives and inducements which drew my minde to the diſlike of Epiſcopal Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the Univerſity. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majeſties purpoſe to have the Queſtion diſputed by Divines on both ſides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cauſe) have undertaken alone; and which ſeldom or never hath proved an effectual way, for finding of truth, or moving the mindes of Men to relinquiſh their former Tenents, *Dum res tranſit à judicio in affectum*; witneſſe the Polemicks between the Papiſts and us, and among our ſelves, about the matter now in hand, theſe many years paſt.

2. Sir, when I conſider your Majeſties education under the hands of ſuch a Father, the length of time wherein your Majeſty hath been ſetled in your principles

ciples of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in private and publick, especially of late at *Oxford*, filled your Majesties ears for the Divine Right thereof; your Coronation Oath, and divers State-Reasons which your Majesty doth not mention: I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable Reasons (which no rational man will contradict) *That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false; much lesse is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.*

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellecti quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise then my reason teacheth me. Yet *Sir*, I hope your Majesty will acknowledge, (for your Paper professeth no lesse) that according to the saying of *Ambrose, Non est pudor ad melior a transire*, It is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) alleageth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the imbracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jews for *Moses* against *Christ*; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self, against the reformation of Religion and Church-government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now, then they had in former times.

3. But your Majeſty may perhaps ſay, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing elſe but the begging of the Queſtion; and I confeſſe it were ſo, if there can be no Reaſons brought for a Reformation or Change; Your Majeſty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by thoſe who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wiſht, that Religion where there is need, were alwayes reformed in that manner, and by ſuch power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greateſt need to be reformed themſelves, not left to the multitude, whom God ſtirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Jacob* reform his own Family, *Moſes* deſtroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Church in their time: but that ſuch Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Aſa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for *Jehoſaphat* removed the high places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Joſiah* deſtroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. *Henry* 8. was moſt imperfect in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government: And although it proceeded by ſome degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominus non Dominium*; and the whole limbs of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy retained, upon what ſnares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expreſſe. It was a hard ſaying of *Romanorum Malleus Groſted* of Lincolne, That Reformation was not to be expected, *Niſi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may ſay, that the Laodicean lukewarmneſſe of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occaſion of more Schiſm and Separa-

tion

tion then ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unſpeakable grief and ſorrow to other Churches, which God did bleſſe with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reſerved for your Majeſty, that to your comfort and everlaſting fame the praiſe of godly *Joſiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no diſpraiſe to your Royal Father, or *Edward* the ſixth, or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having ſo fair an opportunity as is now by the ſupreme providence put into your Royal hands. My ſoul trembleth to think and to foreſee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. *I* will neither uſe the words of *Mordecai*, *Eſth* 4.14. nor what *Savanarola* told another *Charls*, becauſe I hope better things from your Majeſty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majeſty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet ſo fully and ſtrongly have expreſſed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to the conſtant univerſal practiſe of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it, We ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſſe of Prieſthood* (I think your Majeſty means a lawful Miniſtery) *and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred is eaſie to judge.*] I humbly offer theſe conſiderations: Firſt, what was not in the times of the Apoſtles, cannot be deduced from them: We ſay in *Scotland*, It cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to inſiſt now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) there was no ſuch Hierarchy, no ſuch difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Preſbyter, in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Preſbyter and Biſhop are to the Apoſtles one and the ſame thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office,

power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apoſtles intending to ſet down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and ſpeaking ſo often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occaſion, but of ſet purpoſe; do neither expreſſe nor imply any ſuch Paſtor or Biſhop as hath power over other Paſtors, although it be true, that they have diſtinctly and particularly expreſt the office, gifts, and duties of the meaneſt Officers, ſuch as Deacons. 3. That in the Miniſtery of the New Teſtament there is a comely, beautiful, and divine order and ſubordination; one kinde of Miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apoſtles firſt; the Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the ſame kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apoſtle above other Apoſtles (unleſſe in moral reſpects) no Evangeliſt above other Evangeliſts; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Paſtor above other Paſtors? In all other ſorts of Miniſters ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Paſtor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Miniſtery, which are commonly called, *The power of Order and Juriſdiction*, are by the Apoſtles declared to be common to the Preſbyter and Biſhop: And that, *Matth.* 18. 16, 17. the gradation in matter of Diſcipline or Church-cenſures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he ſhall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he ſaith not, tell it to the Biſhop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never ſo eminent. If theſe conſiderations do not ſatisfie, your Majeſty may have more, or the ſame further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly deſire your Majeſty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from,

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the practice of the Primitive Church, and the univerſal conſent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papiſts for ſuch traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Teſtimony muſt be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice univerſal of the Church for many years; *Euſebius* the prime Hiſtorian confeſſeth ſo much: the learned *Joſephus Scaliger* teſtifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* until a good time after, no certainty can be had from Eccleſiaſtical Authors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* ſought the preheminence in the Apoſtles times, and the myſtery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weakneſſe, endeavoured alteration of Church-government, but that all the learned and godly of thoſe times conſented to ſuch a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

Thirdly, I will never think that your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſſe of a Miniſtery, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not onely manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy, do confeſſe, that Preſbyters may Ordain other Preſbyters; and that Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Preſbyter, although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majeſties Coronation Oath; I confeſſe, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religon) much tenderneſſe is required: and farre be it from us, who deſire to obſerve our own Solemne Oath, to preſſe your Majeſty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all

humbleneſſe and ſincerity to lay before your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) that although no humane authority can diſpenſe with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad jus Divinum*; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaſeth to be our Lord & Superiour; for then the formal cauſe of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus*; *ſublato relato, tollitur Correlatum.* Or when any Oath hath a ſpecial reference to the benefit of thoſe to whom I make the promiſe, if we have their deſire or conſent, the Obligation ceaſeth; becauſe all ſuch Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, have covenanted for the aboliſhing or altering of a Law, your Majeſties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conſcience to the obſerving of it; otherwiſe no Laws could be altered by the Legiſlative power. This *I* conceive hath been the ground of removing Epiſcopal Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Biſhops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I aſſure my ſelf, that your Majeſty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houſes of Parliament ſhould finde an alteration neceſſary, although (which God Almighty avert) you ſhould loſe your ſelf, and your Poſterity and Crown, that you would never conſent to the aboliſhing of ſuch a Law. If your Majeſty ſtill object, *that the matter of the Oath is neceſſary and immutable*, that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your pietie to your Royal Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majeſty does conclude. Your Majeſty knows that King *James* never admitted Epiſcopacy upon Divine Right: That his Majeſty did

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ſwear and ſubſcribe to the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline of the Church of *Scotland*; that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Baſilicon Doron*, his Majeſty gives an honourable teſtimony to thoſe that loved better the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, then the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that he conceived the Prelates to favour of the Popiſh Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghoſt now ſpeak to your Majeſty) He would not adviſe your Majeſty to run ſuch hazards for thoſe men who will chuſe rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, then that they periſh alone. The Lord give your Majeſty a wiſe and diſcerning Spirit to chuſe that in time which is right.

June 3.
1646.

For.

# For Mr *Alex. Henderſon.*

## A Reply to his Anſwer to My firſt Paper, *June 6.* 1646.

### *His* MAJESTIES *ſecond Paper.*

Mr. *Henderſon,*

IF it had been the Honour of the Cauſe which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or ſingly to have maintained the Argument againſt you (whoſe Anſwer to My former paper is ſufficient, without further proofs, to juſtifie My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular ſatisfaction, I aſſure you that a Diſputation of well choſen Divines, would be moſt effectual; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I muſt beſt know, how My ſelf may be beſt ſatisfied, for certainly My taſte cannot be guided by another Mans palate, & indeed I will ſay, that when it comes (as it muſt) to Probations, I muſt have either *perſons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impoſſible to give Me ſatisfaction: The foreſeeing of which, made Me at firſt (for the ſaying of Time) deſire that ſome of thoſe Divines, which I gave you in a Liſt, might be ſent for.

2. Concerning your ſecond Section, *I* were much too blame, if I ſhould not ſubmit to that ſaying of S. *Ambroſe* which you mention, for I would be unwilling

ling to be found leſſe ingenuous then you ſhew your ſelf to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I ſhall not be aſhamed *to change for the better*, ſo *I* muſt ſee that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwiſe, inconſtancy in this were both ſinne and ſhame; and remember (what your ſelf hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans Reaſon can be commanded by another mans will.*

3. Your third begins, but *I* cannot ſay that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not underſtand, how thoſe *Examples* cited out of the Old Teſtament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the moſt perfect, or, that any other is lawful, thoſe having been all by the *Regal Authority*; and becauſe *Henry the Eights Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *mood* and *figure* muſt be found out to form a *Syllogiſme*, whereby to prove ſome: but however, you are miſtaken; for, no man who truly underſtands the *Engliſh Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry the Eighth*, for he onely gave the occaſion; it was his *Son* who began, and Queen *Elizabeth* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more then you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence Princes*: For, you know, there is much difference between *Permiſſion* and *Approbation*: But all this time I finde no *Reaſons* (according to your promiſe) for a *Reformation*, or *Change* (I mean ſince Queen *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his ſaying; it is well you come off it, with *yet this I may ſay*] for it ſeems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would juſtifie that *bloody ungodly ſaying*: and for your comparing our *Reformation* here to the *Laodicean Lukewarmneſſe*, proved by *Complaints, Grievings, &c.* all that doth, and but unhandſomely,

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*Petere principium*; nor can Generals ſatisfie Me; for, you muſt firſt prove, that thoſe men had reaſon to complain, thoſe Churches to be grieved, and how we were truly the Cauſers of this Schiſm and ſeparation: as for thoſe words which you will not uſe, I will not anſwer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the firſt of My two main Arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; It is I muſt make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved; Inſtead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*; you had done much; for I do averre, that this *Government* was never practiſed before *Calvins* time; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove; My taſk being to ſhew the *lawfulneſſe*, and *ſucceſſion of Epiſcopacy*, and, as I believe, the *neceſſity* of it: For doing whereof, *I* muſt have ſuch Books as I ſhall call for; which poſſibly upon peruſal, may, one way or other, give Me ſatisfaction; but *I* cannot abſolutely promiſe it without the aſſiſtance of ſome Learned Man, whom I can truſt, to finde out all ſuch Citations, as I have uſe of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unneceſſarily loſt.

5. Now for the *fallaciouſneſſe* of My *Argument* (to My knowledge) it was never My *practice*, nor do I confeſſe to have begun now: For, if the *practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *univerſal conſent of the Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtful, I know nothing; For, if this be not, then of neceſſity the *Interpretation of private Spirits* muſt be admitted: the which contradicts Saint *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring theſe Kingdoms into confuſion: and to ſay, that an Argument is ill, becauſe the *Papiſts* uſe it, or, that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is the cuſtom of ſome of the *Reformed Churches*, cannot weigh with Me, until you prove theſe

theſe to be *infallible*, or that to maintain *no Truth*: And how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly oppoſed the Apoſtle S. *John*) can be an Argument againſt *Epiſcopacy*, I do not underſtand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I cenſure their *Actions*; as you muſt prove, before *I* confeſſe it, that *Presbyters without a Biſhop, may lawfully ordain other Presbyters*: And as for the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as I think none will ſay, that a Woman can lawfully, or duly adminiſter it, though when done, it be *valid*; ſo none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be abſolutely neceſſary for the *Sacrament* of the *Euchariſt*.

7. You make a learned ſuccinct diſcourſe of *Oathes* in general, and their ſeveral *Obligations*, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in queſtion, to be guided by your own *Rule*, which is [*when any Oath hath a ſpecial reference to the benefit of thoſe to whom I make the promiſe, if we have their deſire, or conſent, the Obligation ceaſeth.*] Now, it muſt be known, *to whom* this Oath hath reference, and to *whoſe benefit?* the Anſwer is clear, onely to the *Church of England*; as by the *Record* will be plainly made appear; and you muſt miſtake in alleaging, that the two *Houſes of Parliament* (eſpecially as they are now conſtituted) can have this *Diſobligatory power*, for, (beſides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this *Church* never did ſubmit, nor was ſubordinate to them; and that it was onely the *King* and *Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly ſerving to help to give the *civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no queſtion) it muſt neceſſarily follow, that it is onely the *Church of England* (in whoſe favour I took this Oath) that can releaſe Me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully aſſembled) ſhall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I ſhall eſteem My ſelf ſo.

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8. To your laſt, concerning the *King my Father*, of happy and famous Memory, both for his *Piety* and *Learning*; I muſt tell you, that I had the happineſſe, to know him much better then you; wherefore I deſire you, not to be too confident, in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare ſay, ſhould his *Ghoſt now ſpeak*, he would tell you, *that a bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by Gods word*, and that *Preces & lacrymæ ſunt Arma Eccleſiæ.*

9. To conclude, having replyed to all your Paper, I cannot but obſerve to you, that you have given Me no Anſwer to My laſt *Quære*; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* ſayes) like the people of *England*, *What they not like, they never underſtand*: But in earneſt, that *Queſtion* is ſo pertinent to the purpoſe in hand, that it will much ſerve for My ſatisfaction; and beſides it may be uſeful for other things.

*Newcaſtle*,
June 6.
1646.

# *For His Majeſty.*

## *Mr.* Alex. Henderſons *Second Paper.*

*Sir*,

THe ſmaller the encouragements be, in relation to the ſucceſſe, (which how ſmall they are, your Majeſty well knowes:) the more apparent, and, I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majeſties command: yet while I conſider, that the way of man is not in himſelf, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his own ſteps; and when I remember how many ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and tears, have been openly and in ſecret offered up in your Majeſties behalf, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reaſon to deſpair of a bleſſed ſucceſſe.

1. I have been averſe, from a Diſputation of Divines, 1. For ſaving of time; which the preſent exigence and extremity of affairs, make more then ordinarily precious; While *Archimedes* at *Syracuſe* was drawing his figures and circlings in the ſand, *Marcellus* interrupted his demonſtration 2. Becauſe the common reſult of Diſputes of this kinde, anſwerable to the prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather Victory then Verity; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they ſtudy more to overcome their adverſe party, then to be overcome of Truth, although this be the moſt glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no ſuch thing was propoſed to me, nor expected by Me. I never judged ſo meanly of the Cauſe, nor ſo highly of my ſelf, as to venture it upon ſuch weakneſſe. Much more might be ſpoken to this purpoſe; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section, hoping that your Majesty will no more insist upon *Education, prescription of time, &c.* which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the most part of men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: an Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a Preface to so thorny a Theam, as your Majesty hath brought Me upon. 1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a General Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Councel is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, several Kingdoms (which we see was done, in the time of the Reformation) are to reform themselves, and that by the authority of their Prince, and Magistrates: if the Prince or supreme Magistrate, be unwilling, then may the inferiour Magistrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, *Sir*, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or the Kings, and Supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the Learned, to dispute about other matter, then the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kinde your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, then will easily be restored

red to your ſelf or your Poſterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes, *Quibus—deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magiſtrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the Body of the people; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſſity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that ſuch a Reformation, is more imperfect, in reſpect of the inſtruments, and manner of procedure; yet for the moſt part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the examples of old of Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the ſecond way of perfection, except that of *Joſiah*. Concerning the ſaying of *Groſtead*, whom the *Cardinals at Rome* confeſt to be a more godly man, then any of themſelves; it was his Complaint, and prediction of what was likely to enſue, not his deſire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two unpartial Witneſſes, *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, both famous Engliſh Biſhops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raiſed in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papiſts oppoſing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Diſcipline, as an Heretical Innovation; and not to be aſcribed to the Nobility, or people, who under God, were the Inſtruments of it; intending and ſeeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and ſetling of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in K. *Henry* the 8. time, it was not finiſhed by Q. *Elizabeth*. The Father ſtirred the humours of the diſeaſed Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reaſon to bleſſe God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is yet reſerved for your Majeſty: Where it is ſaid, *that all this time I bring no Reaſons, for a further Change*; the fourth Section, of

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my laſt Paper, hath many hints of *Reaſons againſt Epiſcopal Government*, with an offer of more, or clearing of thoſe; which your Majeſty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned Men have obſerved many Defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Queſtion now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Chriſt* and the *Apoſtles*; which they, at leaſt cannot deny, who profeſſe *Church-Government* to bee *mutable* and *ambulatory*; and ſuch were the greater part of *Arch-biſhops* and *Biſhops* in *England*, contenting themſelves with the *Conſtitutions* of the Church, and the *authority* and *munificence* of Princes, till of late, that ſome few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*: *That, the Engliſh Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven*; which is one of the Reaſons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicæa*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Popiſh* nor *Reformed*, but of a Lukewarm temper, betwixt the two: *That it hath depraved the Diſcipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God*; which is as unlawful as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine Inſtitution: And other the like, which have moved ſome to apply this ſaying to the Church of *England*, *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, niſi jam ſe perveniſſe crederent.*

4. In my Anſwer to the firſt of Your Majeſties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of ſome Reaſons to prove, *That a Biſhop and Presbyter are one and the ſame in Scripture*: from which, by neceſſary conſequence, *I* did inferre the Negative; *Therefore*, No difference in Scripture between a *Biſhop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name ſignifying *Induſtriam Curæ paſtoralis*; the other, *Sapientiæ Maturitatem*,

*turitatem*, ſaith *Beda*. And whereas your Majeſty averres, *That Presbyterian Government was never practiſed, before* Calvins *time*; Your Majeſty knowes, the common Objection of the *Papiſts*, againſt the *Reformed Churches*; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luther's* time? One part of the common Anſwer is, *That it was from the beginning, and is to bee found in Scripture*: The ſame *I* affirm of Preſbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the *Aſſembly of Divines* at *Weſtminſter*, have made manifeſt, *That the Primitive Chriſtian Church at* Jeruſalem *was governed by a Presbytery*: While they ſhew, 1. That the Church of *Jeruſalem* conſiſted of more Congregations then one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles, and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diverſity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all theſe Congregations, were under one Preſbyterial Government, becauſe they were, for Government, one Church, *Acts* 11. 22, 26. And becauſe that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government: And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that Meeting, *Act* 15. acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders; ſtating the Queſtion, debating it, in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having, by ſearch of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us*: which in the judgement of the Learned, may be ſpoken by any Aſſembly, upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Preſbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Preſbytery was made *Epiſcopus præſes*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio gubernabant*, ſaith Saint *Jerome*, *& Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine*, *quam Diſpoſitionis*

*poſitionis Divinæ veritate, Presbyteris eſſe majores, & in Commune debere Eccleſiam regere.*

5. Far be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that your Majeſty did intend any Fallacy, in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh betwee[n] *Intentio operantis, & Conditio operis*; ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference between *Intentio Argumentantis, & Conditio Argumenti.* And where your Majeſty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the *Interpretation of private Spirits*, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle S. *Peter*, and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be conſidered by your Majeſty, what ſome of chief note among the *Papiſts* themſelves have taught us, That the *Interpretation* of *Scriptures*, and the *Spirits* whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold ſenſe. 1. *Ratione perſonæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when perſons, although not private, uſe not the publick means which are neceſſary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. 3. *Ratione finis*, when the Interpretation is not propoſed as Authentical to binde others, but is intended onely for our own private ſatisfaction. The firſt is not to be deſpiſed; the ſecond is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apoſtle *Peter*; the third ought not to be cenſured: But that Interpretation which is Authentical, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans conſcience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the General Councel ſhould reſolve it, and the Conſent of the Fathers ſhould be had unto it, yet there muſt alwayes be place left to the judgement of Diſcretion, as *Davenant*, late Biſhop of *Salisbury*, beſide divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book, *De Judice Controverſiarum*, where alſo the power of Kings in matter of Religion, is ſolidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely,

onely I adde; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichrist*, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Question of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets, concerning the *Antichrist* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And diverse of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy successe, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Mystery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the *great Mystery* of the Papacy at last.

6. Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judgement, they cannot have a lawful Ministery, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I shall alledge what I purposed, your Majesty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism administred by such a Presbyter, is another thing then Baptism administred by a private person, or a Midwife. Of the

first

firſt, your Majeſty cals for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifeſt, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the propheſie, with the laying on of the hands of the* Presbytery; ſo it is in the Engliſh Tranſlation: and the word *Presbytery*, ſo often as it is uſed in the New Teſtament, alwayes ſignifies the *perſons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were diſtinct; yet doth not the *Presbyter* derive his power of Order, from the *Biſhop*. The Evangeliſts were inferiour to the Apoſtles; yet had they their power, not from the Apoſtles, but from CHRIST. The ſame I affirm of the 70 Ciſciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no leſſe then the Apoſtles had theirs. It may upon better reaſon be averred, That the Biſhops have their power from the Pope, then that Preſbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, *Jerome* ſaith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the ſame place he proves from Scripture, that *Epiſcopus & presbyter* are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtom of his time. 2. Concerning *Baptiſm*, a private perſon may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſſe it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a perſon made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptiſm, is begot by another Errour, of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

7. To that which hath been ſaid, concerning your Majeſties *Oath*, I ſhall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Queſtion, of the ſubordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an Headſhip as the Kings of *England* hath claimed, and ſuch a Supremacy as the two Houſes

of

of Parliament crave, with the Appeals from the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Judicature to them as ſet over the Church, in the ſame line of Subordination, I do utterly diſclaim upon ſuch Reaſons as give my ſelf ſatisfaction, although no man ſhall be more willing to ſubmit to Civil powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble then My ſelf. Onely concerning the application of the generals of an Oath, to the particular caſe now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England*, is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath: For, although they were eſteemed to be the Repreſentative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Majeſty knowes it was ſo in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kinde can be done without the conſent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spain*, or *Rome* it ſelf? Its not to be expected, that the *Pope*, or *Prelat* will conſent to their own ruin.

8. *I* will not preſume upon any ſecret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, Your Majeſties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majeſty, I did onely produce, what was profeſt by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church*; yet it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to *force the Church to put on theſe Arms*: Nor could I ever hear a reaſon, why a neceſſary Defenſive War againſt unjuſt Violence is unlawful, although it be joyned with offence and invaſion which is intended for Defence, but ſo that Arms are laid down when the offenſive War ceaſeth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other ſide, was, in the nature thereof, Defenſive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conſcience, which I pretermitted in my other paper, I am forced now,

but without forcing of my Conſcience, to ſpeak of. Our Conſcience may be ſaid to be forced; either by our ſelves, or by others. By our ſelves: 1. When we ſtop the ear of our Conſcience and will not hearken, or give place to information, reſolving obſtinately, *Ne ſi perſuaſeris, perſuadebis*; which is no leſſe then a reſiſting of the Holy Ghoſt, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when we ſtop the mouth, and ſuppreſſe the clamours of our Conſcience; reſolving rather to ſuffer the Worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, then to make profeſſion of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we ſear our Conſcience, as with an hot Iron, that it becometh ſenſeleſſe; which is the puniſhment of the former: unto which is oppoſed, the truly tender Conſcience; ſuch as *Joſiah* had, *2 Kings* 22.19. Again, 1. Our *Conſcience* is ſaid to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it ſelf evil and unlawful; which if we admit, againſt our own Conſcience, we ſin two wayes; one is, *by doing that which is in it ſelf evil and unlawful*; the other is, *by doing it againſt a dictate of Conſcience*, which is a contempt of God, whoſe Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it ſelf good, or may lawfully be done, but through errour of Conſcience we judge it to be evil & unlawful: in this caſe, if we do not that which is preſt upon us, we ſin, becauſe the thing is good & lawful: And if we do it, we ſin, becauſe we do againſt our Conſcience. Which in this caſe bindeth, but obligeth not? And yet there is a way to eſcape out of this Labyrinth; it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a *neceſſity* of ſinning upon any man: The onely way is, to *lay aſide ſuch a Conſcience*, it being a part of the *Old man*, which we are commanded to *put off*; otherwiſe, we being ſufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our own error, we rather do violence to our *conſcience*, our *ſelves*, then ſuffer violence from others. The Application, for Anſwering the *Quære*, I leave to your Majeſty.

*Newcaſtle*, June 17. 1646.

# For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon.*

## *His* MAJESTIES *third Paper.*

1. IT were arrogance, beſides loſſe of time, in Me to vie *preambles* with you: For, it is *Truth* I ſeek, and neither *praiſe* nor *victory*; wherefore I ſhall onely inſiſt upon thoſe things which are meerly neceſſary to My *own* ſatisfaction; in order to which, I deſired the *aſſiſtance* of ſome *Divines*; whereupon I will inſiſt no further, ſave onely to wiſh, that you may not (as I have known many Men do) *loſe* time, by being miſtaken in the way to *ſave* it, wherein *I* have onely ſought to diſburden My ſelf, but to lay no blame upon you, and ſo I leave it.

2. Nor will I ſay more of the ſecond then this, that I am glad you have ſo well approved of what I have ſaid concerning My *education* and *reaſon*; but then remember, that *agother mans will*, is at leaſt, as weak a ground, to build My Faith upon, as My former *education*.

3. In this there are two points: Firſt, concerning the *Reforming power*, then anent the *Engliſh Reformation*: For the firſt, I confeſſe you now ſpeak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I ſhall mainly differ with you, until you ſhall ſhew Me better reaſon: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a *General Councel* cannot be had, ſeveral

*Kingdoms* may *Reform* themſelves, (which is learnedly and fully proved by the late *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* in his diſputation againſt *Fiſher*) but, that the *inferiour Magiſtrates* or *people* (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no ſufficient proof, to My judgement: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence ſubmit; but as for your Examples, *out of the Old Teſtament*, in My minde, they rather make for, then againſt Me, all thoſe *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good *probable* (though I will not ſay *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *popular reforming way*, there were *Kings* of *Judah* and *Iſrael* ſufficiently negligent and ill to have made ſuch examples by; but by the contrary, the 16 Chapter of *Numbers* ſhews clearly, how God diſapproves of ſuch courſes: but I forget this Aſſertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you that this pretended *power* in the *people*, muſt (as all others) either be directly, or elſe declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how ſoon you can do, *I* ſubmit; otherwiſe you prove nothing: For the citing of private Mens opinions (more then as they concurre with the *generall conſent of the Church* in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjuſt actions*; and though *I* much reverence Biſhop *Jewels* memory, I never thought him *infallible*; for *Biſſon* I remember well what opinion the *King* My *Father* had of him for thoſe Opinions, and how He ſhewed him ſome favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot ſay: To conclude this point, until you ſhall prove this *poſition* by the Word of *God*, (as I will *Regal Authority*) I ſhall think all *popular* Refor-

*Reformation*, little better then *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no Authority is lawful but that which is either directly given*, or at leaſt, *approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *Engliſh Reformation*, the firſt reaſon you bring why Queen *Elizabeth* did not finiſh it, is, becauſe *ſhe took not away Epiſcopacy*, the *hints of reaſon againſt which Government*, you ſay, *I take no notice of*; now I thought it was ſufficient notice, yea and anſwer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for Me to prove the *affirmative*; which I ſhall either do, or yeeld the Argument, as ſoon as I ſhall be aſſiſted with *Books*, or ſuch *Men* of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain: And ſo I muſt leave this particular until I be furniſhed with means to put it to an *iſſue*; which had been ſooner done, if I could have had My will: indeed your ſecond well proved, is moſt ſufficient, which is, That *the Engliſh Church-Governement is not builded upon the foundation of Chriſt and the Apoſtles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for firſt, albeit our Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould have profeſſed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, *I* conceive it not ſufficient to prove your Aſſertion: and ſecondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that moſt of them maintained this *walking* poſition, (for ſome particulars muſt not conclude the general) for which you muſt finde much better Arguments then their being content with the *Conſtitution of the Church*, and the *Authority* and *munificence* of Princes, or you will fall extreamly ſhort: As for the *retaining* of the *Roman Leaven*, you muſt prove it, as well as ſay it, elſe you ſay little: But that the conforming of the *Church diſcipline* to the *civil policy*, ſhould be a depraving of it, I abſolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flouriſh, nor be happy: And for your laſt inſtance, you ſhall doe well

well to ſhew the prohibition of our Saviour againſt addition of more Officers in the Church then he named; and yet in one ſenſe I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbiſhop* is onely a diſtinction for *order* of *Government*, not a *new Officer*, and ſo of the reſt: and of this kinde I believe there are diverſe now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Aſſemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the ſame (which I deny to be alwayes ſo) it is in the *Apoſtles time*; now I think to prove the *Order* of *Biſhops* ſucceeded that of the Apoſtles, and that the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our *Saviour*, (albeit, in their time, they cauſed diverſe to be called ſo, as *Barnabas* and others) ſo that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is well that the *Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter* can do more then *Euſebius* could, and I ſhall believe, when I ſee it: For, your former paper affirms, that thoſe times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be ſo ſtill for Me if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, then thoſe you mention: for becauſe there were *diverſe Congregations in Jeruſalem*; Ergo, *what*? are there not *divers Pariſhes in one Dioceſſe*? (your two firſt I anſwer but as one Argument), and becauſe the *Apoſtles met with thoſe of the inferiour Orders, for Acts of Government*; what then? even ſo in theſe times do the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and many times thoſe of the *inferiour Clergy* aſſiſt the *Biſhops*; but I hope you will not pretend to ſay, that there was an equality between the *Apoſtles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate theſe Arguments: And if you can ſay no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. then you have for *Jeruſalem*, it will gain no ground

ground on Me: As for Saint *Jerome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will finde that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of My Argument, for when you and *I* differ upon the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeal to the *practise* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, to be judge between us, Me thinks you should either finde a fitter, or submit to what *I* offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief, of the interpretation by *private Spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former *foundations*; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it to be *a begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, *I* shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts, whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate, in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in *one*.

6. As I am no *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, ſo neither do *I* cenſure them, for many things may be avowable upon *neceſſity*, which otherwayes are *unlawful*; but know, once for all, that I eſteem nothing the better, becauſe it is done by ſuch a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow moſt to reverence) but *I* eſteem that *Church* moſt, which comes neareſt to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Diſcipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Preſbyters without a Biſhop might lawfully Ordain, which yet *I* conceive you have not done; for, 2 *Tim.* 1.6. it is evident, that Saint *Paul* was at *Timothies* Ordination; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Chriſt*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear diſtinction between the *twelve Apoſtles* and the reſt of the *Diſciples*, which is ſet down by three of the *Evangeliſts*, whereof S. *Mark* cals it an Ordination, *Mark* 3.15. and S. *Luke* ſayes, *And of them he choſe twelve, &c. Luke* 6.13. onely S. *Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their *name* of diſtinction, *Matth.* 10.1. I ſuppoſe out of modeſty, himſelf being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For the *adminiſtration of Baptiſme*, giving, but not granting what you ſay, it makes more for Me, then you: but I will not engage upon new Queſtions, not neceſſary for My purpoſe.

7. For My *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon thoſe Queſtions you mention; and you have done as well to have omitted your inſtance; but, out of diſcretion I deſire you to collect your Anſwer out of the laſt Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of My Oath be for the good of the *Church collective*, therefore can I be diſpenſed withal by others then the *repreſentative body?* certainly no more then the people can diſpenſe with Me for any *Oathes* I took in their favours, without the two Houſes of Parliament; as for future Reformations, I will on-

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ly tell you that *incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum.*

8. For the *King* My *Fathers* opinion, if it were not to ſpend time (as *I* believe) needleſly, I could prove by living and written teſtimony, all, and more, then I have ſaid of Him, for His perſwaſion in theſe points which I now maintain; and for your *Defenſive War*; as I do acknowledge it a great ſin for any *King* to *oppreſſe the Church*, ſo I hold it abſolutely unlawful for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatſoever) to make War (though *defenſive*) againſt their *lawful Soveraign*; againſt which no leſſe proofs will make Me yeeld but *Gods Word*; and let Me tell you, that upon ſuch points as theſe, Inſtances, as well as Compariſons, are odious.

9. Laſtly, you miſtake the *Quære* in My firſt paper to which this pretends to anſwer; for My Queſtion was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulneſſe of it) but *force of Armes*, to which, I conceive, it ſayes little or nothing, unleſſe (after My example) you refer Me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the Queſtion*, after a fine diſcourſe of the ſeveral wayes of *perſwading* rather then *forcing* of conſcience: I cloſe up this paper, deſiring you to take notice, that there is none of theſe Sections but *I* could have enlarged to many more lines, ſome to whole pages; yet I choſe to be thus brief, knowing you will underſtand more by a word then others by a long diſcourſe; truſting likewiſe to your ingenuity, that *reaſon epitomized* will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

*C. R.*

*June* 22. 1646.

# For His MAJESTY.

## Concerning the authority of the Fathers, and practise of the Church, *June* 2. 1646.

### Mr. *Alex. Henderſons* third Paper.

HAving in my former papers preſſed the ſteps of your Majeſties Propoſitions, and finding by your Majeſties laſt Paper, Controverſies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majeſties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*; The *difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter*; The *warrants of Presbyterian Government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of publick Oathes*; the *forcing of Conſcience*; and many other inferiour and ſubordinate Queſtions, which are Branches of thoſe main Controverſies: All which in a ſatisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more preſuming Spirits, who either ſee no knots of Difficulties, or can finde a way rather to cut them aſunder, then to unlooſe them: yet will I not uſe any Tergiverſation; nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reaſons thereof, in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Majeſties command, I have begun to do already. Onely Sir, by your Majeſties favourable permiſſion, for the greater expedition, and that the preſent velitations may be brought to ſome iſſue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin with the principle

ple, and that which ſhould have been, *inter precognita*; I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the preſent controverſie of *Church policy*; without which we will be led into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to winde us out again. In your Majeſties firſt paper, *the univerſal cuſtom of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the ſecond paper, Section the 5. The *practiſe* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *univerſal conſent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtful; in your third paper, *Sect.* 5. *the practiſe of the Primitive Church, and the univerſal conſent of the Fathers*, is made Judge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this Queſtion, then to alleage *Antiquity, perpetual Succeſſion, univerſal conſent of the Fathers*, and the *univerſal practiſe of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Auguſtine*, *Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec à Conſilio inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non, niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ, traditum rectiſſime creditur*. There is in this Argument at the firſt view, ſo much appearance of Reaſon, that it may much work upon a modeſt minde; yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for beſide that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocæſan Biſhop*, having ſole power of Ordination and juriſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that *Biſhop and Presbyter are of one and the ſame Order*; I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. Firſt I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two rules for defining Controverſies; the Word of God and antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the Papiſts call them, *Canonical Authority, and Catholical tradition*,

dition; and others, make *Scripture* to be the onely *Rule*, and *Antiquity* the authentick *Interpreter*; the latter of the two ſeems to me to be the greater errour: becauſe the firſt ſetteth up a *parallel*, in the ſame degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the *interpretation* of the Fathers ſhall be the Ἀυθ, and accounted the very Cauſe and Reaſon for which we conceive and believe ſuch a place of Scripture to have ſuch a ſence; and thus, Men ſhall have Dominion over our Faith, againſt 2 *Cor.* 1.24. Our faith ſhall ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 *Cor.* 2.5. and Scripture ſhall be of private interpretation; For the propheſie came not of old by the will of man, 2 *Pet.* 1.20.22. *Niſi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius eſſe debebit*, ſaith *Tertullian*.

2. That Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifeſt from Scripture: The Levites gave the ſenſe of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it ſelf, *Neh.* 8.8. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true ſenſe of Scripture, againſt the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Teſtimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.* 4. and the Apoſtles, in their Epiſtles, uſed no other help but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apoſtle *Peter*, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apoſtles, with the more obſcure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1.19. And when we betake our ſelvs to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papiſts, we accuſe not the Scriptures of obſcurity or *imperfection*.

3. The Fathers themſelves (as they are cited by Proteſtant Writers) hold this Concluſion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it ſelf. To this purpoſe, amongſt many other Teſtimonies, they bring the ſaying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas, ipſa Scripturas tuas interpretare, quam conſuetudo non novit, nam ſi noſcet, non eſſet*: if it knew Scripture, it would

be aſhamed of it ſelf, and ceaſe to bee any more.

4. That ſome Errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Juſtin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Auguſtine*, as the *Divine Right of Epiſcepacy* was oppoſed by others. The Errour about the *Viſion of God*, That the *Souls of the Saints departed, ſee not the face of God, till the Judgement of the Great Day*, was held by Univerſal Conſent: the ſame may be ſaid of the errour of the Millenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the preſent Queſtion, the Ancients erred groſly about the *Antichriſt* and *Myſtery of Iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apoſtles. Many other Inſtances might be brought to prove the *univerſal practiſe of the Church*, as were not warranted by the Apoſtles; as in the Rites of *Baptiſme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*; the obſervation of many *Feaſts* and *Faſts* both Anniverſary and Weekly.

5 That it is not a matter ſo incredible, or impoſſible, as ſome would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a ſudden defection from the Apoſtolical purity: The people of *Iſrael*, in the ſhort time of *Moſes* his abſence on the Mount, turned aſide quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exo.* 32. ſoon after the death of *Joſuah*, and the Elders that had ſeen the great works w^ch the Lord had done for *Iſrael*, there aroſe another Generation after them, which did evil in the ſight of the Lord, *Judg.* 2 & 7. ſoon after the building of the Temple, and ſetling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worſhip of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had eſtabliſhed the Kingdom, he forſook the Law of the Lord, & all Iſrael with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 1. And the Apoſtle ſayes to the Galatians, *Galat.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are ſo ſoon removed into another Goſpel*: Why then ſhall wee

think

think it ſtrange, that in the matter of Diſcipline, there ſhould be a ſudden defection, eſpecially it being begun in the time of the Apoſtles? I know it is a common Opinion, but I believe there be no ſtrong reaſons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apoſtles was the moſt pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impoſſible to come to the knowledge of the Univerſal conſent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are periſhed, (it may be that both of theſe have diſſented from the reſt) many of the writings which we have under their names are ſuppoſitious, and counterfeit, eſpecially about Epiſcopacy which was the foundation of Papal Primacy: The Rule of *Auguſtine* afore mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove, that the unanimous conſent of the Fathers, and the univerſal practiſe of the Primitive Church, is no ſure ground of Authentical interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who did often profeſſe that he did learn more of one page of *John Calvin*, then of a whole Treatiſe of *Auguſtine*: nor can there be any good reaſon, (many there be againſt it) why the Ancients ſhould be ſo far preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified: It is but a poor Reaſon that ſome give, *Fama mirabilis ſenioris ævi*, and is abundantly anſwered by the Apologiſt for Divine Providence. If your Majeſty be ſtill unſatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould proceed or trouble your Majeſty any more.

*Newcaſtle,*
*July* 2. 1646.

# For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon.*

## *His* MAJESTIES *fourth Paper.*
### *July 3.* 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My laſt Paper multiplies more Controverſies then My firſt gave occaſion for; having been ſo far from augmenting the Heads of our Diſputation, that *I* have omitted the anſwering many things, in both your Papers, expreſly to avoid raiſing of new and needleſſe Queſtions; deſiring to have onely ſo many debated, as are ſimply neceſſary to ſhew, whether or not, *I may with a ſafe conſcience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in England*; and indeed *I* like very well, to begin with the *ſetling of the Rule*, by which we are to proceed, and determine the preſent *Controverſie*; to which purpoſe (as I conceive) My third paper ſhews you an excellent way; for there, I offer you a *Judge* between us, or deſire you to *finde out a better*, which, to My judgement you have not yet done, (though you have ſought to invalidate Mine) For, if you underſtand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no Man ſhall pay more reverence, nor ſubmit more humbly to it, then My ſelf; yet we muſt finde ſome Rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the ſelf-ſame Text, or it can never determine our Queſtions; as for example, I ſay you miſapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. to *Me*, (let others anſwer for themſelves) for I know not how I make other men to have dominion over my *Faith*, when I

make them onely ſerve to *approve My Reaſon*; nor do I conceive how, 1 *Cor.* 2.5. can be applyed to this purpoſe; For there Saint *Paul* onely ſhews the diſference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention of any kinde of Interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint *Peter* does, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *Me*; for, ſince that no *propheſie of Scripture is of any private interpretation:* Firſt, *I* infer, that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for elſe, the *Apoſtle* would have omitted the word *private*: Secondly, that at leaſt the conſent of many learned Divines is neceſſary, and ſo *à fortiore*, that of the *Catholick Church*, ought to be an *authentique Judge*, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? becauſe (*Matth.* 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is beſt interpreted by it ſelf, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainſul you cannot think: Thus having ſhewed you that we differ, about the *meaning* of the Scripture, and are like to do ſo; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at leaſt, to make our Probations and Arguments *Relevant*; therefore evading, for this time, to anſwer your ſix *Conſiderations* (not I aſſure you for the difficulty of them, but the ſtarting of new Queſtions) *I* deſire you onely to ſhew Me a better, then what I have offered unto you.

*C. R.*

*Newcaſtle.*
*July* 3. 1646.

# For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon.*

## A particular Anſwer to Mr. *Alex. Henderſons*, July 3.16. 1646.

### *His* MAJESTIES *fifth Paper.*

VNtil you ſhall finde out a fitter way to decide our *Difference* in Opinion concerning *Interpretation of Scripture* then the *Conſent of the Fathers, and the Univerſal practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but paſſe you My Judgement anent thoſe ſix *Conſiderations*, which you offered to invalidate thoſe Authorities, that I ſo much reverence.

1. IN the firſt you mention *two Rules for defining of Controverſies*, and ſeek a moſt old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, then I believe you can prove, by the conſent of moſt learned Men (there being no Queſtion, but there are alwayes ſome flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expreſſions) and you know that *ſuppoſito quolibet, ſequitur quidlibet*: beſides do you think, that albeit ſome ignorant Fellowes, ſhould attribute more power to Preſbyters, then is really due unto them, that thereby their juſt reverence and authority is diminiſhed? So I ſee no reaſon why I may not ſafely maintain, that the *Interpretation of Fathers*, is a moſt excellent *ſtrengthening* to My opinion, though others ſhould attribute the *Cauſe* and *Reaſon* of their Faith unto it.

2. As

2. As there is no Queſtion, but that *Scripture* is the ſar *beſt Interpreter* of it ſelf, ſo *I* ſee nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithſtanding your poſitive affirmation:

3. Nor in the next, for *I* hope you will not be the firſt to condemn your ſelf, Me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblamably have not tyed themſelves to this Rule.

4. If in this you onely intend to prove that *Errors* were alwayes *breeding in the Church*, I ſhall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpoſe; but if your meaning be, to accuſe the *univerſal practiſe of the Church* with *Error*, I muſt ſay it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot juſtifie your ſelf, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you muſt not alledge, that to be univerſally received, which was not, as I dare ſay, that the *Controverſie about free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumenical*, or *General Councel*; nor muſt you preſume to call that an *Error*, which really the *Catholick Church* maintained (as in *Rites of Baptiſme, forms of prayer, obſervation of Feaſts, Faſts, &c.*) except you can prove it ſo by the Word of God, and it is not enough to ſay, that ſuch a thing was not warranted by the *Apoſtles*, but you muſt prove by their *Doctrine*, that ſuch a thing was *unlawful*, or elſe the *practiſe of the Church* is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Cuſtome whatſoever it be, and think it good, and ſhall believe that the *Apoſtles Creed* was made by them, (ſuch Reverence I bear to the *Churches Tradition*,) until other Authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de poſſe ad eſſe* was no good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any *Cuſtom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox* learned Men in the times of their firſt practiſe, as is eaſily perceived that all thoſe *Defections* were, (ſome of them may be juſtly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impoſſible*. ( though I confeſſe it *difficult*) to come to the knowlege of *the Univerſal Conſent*, and practiſe of the *primitive Church*, therefore I confeſſe a Man ought to be *careful* how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be onely an Argument for *Caution*.

My Concluſion is, that albeit I never eſteemed any *Authority* equal to the *Scriptures*; yet I do think the *unanimous Conſent of the Fathers*, and the *univerſal practiſe of the primitive Church*, *to be the beſt and moſt Authentical Interpreters of Gods word*, and conſequently the fitteſt Judges between Me and you, when we differ, until you ſhall finde Me better: For example, I think you for the preſent the beſt Preacher in *Newcaſtle*, yet I believe you may erre, and poſſibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I muſt retain My Opinion.

*Newcaſtle*, *C. R.*

July 16.
1646.

The

# The Papers which paſſed between His MAJESTY and the *Miniſters* attending the Commiſſioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the Iſle of Wight, *An. Dom.* 1648. Concerning Epiſcopacy.

## His *Majeſties* firſt Paper concerning *Epiſcopacy*.

*Charls* R.

I Conceive that Epiſcopal Government is moſt conſonant to the Word of God, and of an Apoſtolical inſtitution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practiſed by the Apoſtles themſelvs, & by them commited, & derived to particular perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein (as for ordaining Preſbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and exerciſing cenſures over Preſbyters and others) and hath ever ſince to theſe laſt times been exerciſed by Biſhops in all the Churches of Chriſt, and therefore I cannot in conſcience conſent to aboliſh the ſaid Government; notwithſtanding this My perſwaſion I ſhall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apoſtles did ſo leave the Church at liberty as

*Acts* 14.23. *Acts* 6.6. 1 *Cor.* 16.1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 Cor. 5.5. *Joh.* 9.10. 1 *Tim.* 5.22. *Titus* 1.5. *Rev.* 2.3. 1 *Tim.* 5.19. *Tit.* 3.10.

as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleaſure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confeſſe that one of My great Scruples is clean taken away: And then there onely remains;

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Epiſcopal Government, as I found it ſetled to My hands: whither I may conſent to the aboliſhing thereof until the ſame ſhall be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the Word of God.

*Newport*, 2 Octob. 1648.

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# An humble Anſwer returnd to your MAJESTIES Paper, delivered to us, *Octob.* 2. 1648:

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

WE do fully agree without haſitation, That theſe Scriptures cited in the margent of your Paper, *Acts* 14.23. *Acts* 6.6. 1 *Cir.* 16.1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5.3. 3 *John* 9.10. do prove, That the Apoſtles did Ordain Preſbyters and Deacons, give rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and had power of cenſures over Preſbyters and others; and that theſe places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5.22. *Titus* 1.5. 1 *Tim.* 5.19. *Titus* 3.10. do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Preſbyters and Deacons, and to exerciſe Cenſures over others; and that the ſecond and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove, That the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches

Churches, and exerciſing Cenſures: But that either the Apoſtles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Biſhops, as Biſhops are diſtinct from Preſbyters, exerciſing Epiſcopal Government in that ſenſe; or that the Apoſtles did commit and derive to any particular perſons as their Subſtitutes and Succeſſors, any ſuch Epiſcopal Government; or that this is proved in the leaſt meaſure by the Scriptures alledged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny alſo, That Epiſcopal Government is therefore moſt conſonant to the Word of God, and of Apoſtolical inſtitution, or proved ſo to be by theſe Scriptures. None of theſe were Biſhops, or practiſed Epiſcopal Government, as Biſhops are diſtinct from Preſbytery; neither is ſuch an Officer of the Church as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Preſbyter, to be found in the New Teſtament (by which we humby conceive, That our faith and conſcience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Biſhop and Preſbyter being one and the ſame in all things, and never in the leaſt diſtinguiſht, and is clearly evident, *Titus* 1.5.7. *For this cauſe left I thee in Creet, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe.* In which place the Apoſtles reaſoning were altogether invalid and inconſequent, if preſbyter and Biſhop were not the ſame Office, as well as they have the ſame name.

The ſame is manifeſt, *Acts* 20.17,28. And from *Miletus* he ſent to *Epheſus*, and called the presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge, *Verſe* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we obſerve, That the Apoſtle being to leave theſe preſbyters, and never to ſee their faces more, *verſe* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being

ing Biſhops of the Holy Ghoſts making: But that the Holy Ghoſt did make any ſuperiour or higher kinde of Biſhops then theſe common Preſbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witneſſes this aſſertion of ours may ſtand; we adde to what we have already ſaid, That in the firſt of *Peter* 5. 1. 2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am alſo a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you; performing the Office of Biſhops.* Where it appeares plain to us, That under the words uſed in this place, is expreſt whatſoever work the Preſbyters do, more for the government or good of the Church, otherwiſe then is there expreſly enjoyned unto Preſbyters. By all which that hath been ſaid, The point is rendred moſt clear to the judgement of moſt men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Preſbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the leaſt notice of any qualification required in a Biſhop, that is not required in a Preſbyter; nor any Ordination to the Office of a Biſhop, diſtinct from a Preſbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Biſhop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to do; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apoſtles ſpeak of, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of eſpecially affixed to that act or work of labouring in the Word of Doctrine; which is not that act wherein Biſhops have challenged a ſingularity or peculiar eminency above the Preſbyter.

To that which your Majeſty doth conceive, That Epiſcopal Government was practiſed by Apoſtles themſelves; We humbly anſwer, That the Apoſtles, as they were the higheſt Officers of the Church of Chriſt, ſo they were Extraordinary in reſpect of their Commiſſion and gifts, and office, and diſtinguiſhed

from

form all other Officers, 1 *Cor.*12.28. God hath set some in the Church; *First Apostles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers,* Ephesians 4.11. *Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers;* Whereby the Apostles are distinguisht from Pastors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise censures in all Churches we affirm, and withall, that no other persons or Officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture, for that Government which they practised was Apostolical, according to that peculiar Commission and authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopal; then, as their Office was so comprehensive as they had power to do the work of any, or all other Church-Officers; In which respect they call themselves *Presbyteri, Diaconi,* (but never *Episcopi* in distinct sense) and therefore we humbly crave leave to say, That to argue the Apostles to have practised Episcopal Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censures, is, as if we should argue a Justice of peace to be a Constable, because he doth that which a Constable doth in some particulars. Its manifest that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; the distinction of Presbyters and Bishops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That the Episcopal Government, was by the Apostles committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successours thereon

(as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and exerciſing cenſures over Preſbyters and others) ſeeming by the alledged places of Scripture to inſtance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches. We humbly anſwer,

1. And firſt to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*; we grant, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Preſbyters and Deacons, and of exerciſing cenſures over Preſbyters & others, though we cannot ſay they had this power, as the Apoſtles Subſtitutes or Succeſſours in Epiſcopal Government, nor that they exerciſed the power they had, as being Biſhops in the ſenſe of your Majeſty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangeliſts, which Evangeliſts were an Office in the Church, diſtinct from paſtors and Teachers, *Epheſians* 4.11. And that they were Evangeliſts, it appears by their being ſent up and down by the Apoſtles, or taken along with them in company to ſeveral Churches, as the neceſſity and occaſion of the Church did require; the one of them being expreſly called an Evangeliſt, 2 *Tim.* 4.5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Biſhop, neither were they fixed to *Epheſus* and *Creet*, as Biſhops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it ſeems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Epheſus* and *Creet* was for any long time, nor ſo intended by the Apoſtle, for he imploys them there upon occaſional buſineſſe, and expreſſeth himſelf in ſuch manner, (*I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *when I went into* Macedonia, *that thou mighteſt charge ſome, that they teach no other Doctrine*, 1 *Tim.* 1.3. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Creet; *Titus* 1.5. As doth not carry the fixing or conſtituting of a Biſhop in a place as a perpetual Governour: And it is as manifeſt, that they were both of them called away from theſe places, 2 *Tim.* 4.9. *Do thy diligence*

*diligence to come to me ſhortly, Titus* 3.12. *Be diligent to come to me to* Nicopolis; ſo that they may as well be called Biſhops of other City, or Church where they had any conſiderable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Epheſus* and *Creet*, as they are called by the poſtſcripts of theſe Apoſtles, the credit of which poſtſcripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Miniſters of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphorical and a Myſtery; *Rev.*1.20. The myſtery of the ſeven Stars, Angels in reſpect of their miſſion or ſending; Stars in reſpect of their ſtation and ſhining. And it ſeems ſtrange to us, that ſo many expreſſe teſtimonies of Scriptures, and allegorical denominations or myſteries ſhould be oppoſed; Theſe Angels being no where called Biſhops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Biſhop uſed in any of *Johns* writings, who cals himſelf presbyter, nor any mention of ſuperiority of one presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be ſaid that Epiſtles are directed to one; We anſwer, that a number of perſons are in the myſterious and prophetick writings expreſt in ſingulars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epiſtolary ſtile (for they are as Letters or Epiſtles to the Churches) theſe writings are directed as Letters to collective or repreſentative bodies uſe to be; that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting aſſembled: which that they were ſo intended, is clear to us, both becauſe there were in *Epheſus* Biſhops, and Presbyters one and the ſame, to whom the Apoſtle at his farewel commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expreſſions in theſe Epiſtles, as *Rev*2.24. *To you and to the reſt in Thyatira*, by which diſtinction of you and the reſt, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more then one) and the people to be ſignified, and ſo cannot conſent

that any ſingular perſon had majority over the reſt, or ſole power of exerciſing Church cenſures and Government ſpoken of in theſe Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not inſtitute or practiſe Epiſcopal Government, nor commit and derive it to particular perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein. We ſhall in further diſcharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full ſatisfaction of your Majeſty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and ſtanding Offices of the Church were tranſmitted and derived by, and from the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles had no Succeſſors in *eundem gradum*: The Apoſtolical office was not derived by ſucceſſion, being inſtituted by Chriſt, by extraordinary and ſpecial commiſſion; but for the ordinary and ſtanding uſe and ſervice of the Church, there were ordained onely two orders of Offices, *viz.* Biſhops and Deacons, which the Apoſtle expreſſeth, *Phil.* 1.1. *To all the Saints in Chriſt Jeſus which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons*: And onely of them doth the Apoſtle give the due characters of Officers: 1 *Tim.* 3. 2.8. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with ancient Expoſitors both Greek and Latine, that Biſhops are the ſame with Presbyters, & beſides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both w^ch^ Orders there were in the Apoſtles times, in one City more then one, as in *Philippi* and *Epheſus*. And we humbly offer to your Majeſty as obſervable; That though one Order might be ſuperiour to another Order, yet in the ſame Order of Officers, there was not any one ſuperiour to others of the ſame Order; No Apoſtle was above an Apoſtle, no Evangeliſt above an Evangeliſt, no Preſbyter above a Preſbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And ſo we conclude this part, that ſince Church-Officers are inſtituted and ſet in the Church by God, or Jeſus Chriſt;

Christ: and that Ordination by or in which the Office is conveyd, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters & Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary & standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediatly succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our faith reacheth no further then the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more then a humanen faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others; that the times immediatly succeeding the *Apostles*, are very dark in respect of the History of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times, gives clear testimony to our assertion, *viz.* The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the order of Church Officers, expresly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons: And they whom in one place he call'd Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and proved by *Videlius* to be so mixed, that it is hard, if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides B. *Usher* in his last Observations on them, *cap.* 18. *pag.* 238. confesseth that of the twelve of his epistles, six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

Fourthly, we grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church, but they were set up not as a Divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiastical, (as afterwards both Arch-Bishops and Patriarchs were,) which is clear by Doctor Reynolds his epistle to Sir Francis Knowles; wherein he shews out of Bishop Jewel, that Ambrose, Chrysostome, Jerome, Augustine, & many more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle Paul, agree that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: And that Medina in the Councel of Trent affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another Jerome; Theodoret, Primasius, Sedulius, and Oecophilact to be of the same judgement; and that with them

them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Can*terbury, and another *Anſelm*, *Gregory* and *Gratian*, and and after them many others; that it was inrol'd in the Canon Law for ſound and catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for theſe five hundred years, have taught that all Paſtors, be they inſtituted Biſhops or Prieſts, have equal authority and power by Gods Word. The ſame way goes *Lumbard* Maſter of the ſentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who ſpeaking of Presbyters and Deacons, ſaith the Primitive Churches had thoſe Orders onely; and that we have the Apoſtles precept for them alone; with him agree many of the moſt eminent of that kinde, and generally all the Canoniſts; to theſe we may adde *Sextus Senenſis*, who teſtifies for himſelf and many others, and *Caſſander* who was called by one of the German Emperours, as one of ſingular ability and integrity, to inform him and reſolve his conſcience in queſtions of that nature, who ſaies, it is agreed among all in the Apoſtles times, there was no difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Preſbyter.

For a concluſion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majeſty concerning the identity of the order of Biſhops and Presbyters, is no other then the doctrine publiſhed by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. For all his Subjects to receive, ſeen and allowed by the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, with the nether Houſe of Parliament: of theſe two Orders onely (ſo ſaith his Book,) that is to ſay, Prieſts and Deacons; the Scripture maketh expreſſe mention, and how they were conferd of by the Apoſtles by prayer, and impoſition of their hands: by all which it ſeems evident, that the order of Epiſcopacy, as diſtinct from Preſbyters, is but an Eccleſiaſtical inſtitution, and therefore not unalterable.

Laſtly, we anſwer, that that Epiſcopal Government (which

which at firſt obtained in the Church did really and ſubſtantially differ from Epiſcopal Government, which the Honourable Houſes of Parliament deſire the abolition of. The Biſhop of theſe times was one preſiding in, and joyning with the Preſbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chuſing out one among themſelves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or choſen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the ſame precinct. Leſſer Towns and Villages had and might have had Biſhops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, until the Councel of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and ſmall Cities ſhould have no Biſhops, leſt the name and authority of a Biſhop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himſelf alone, as a ſuperiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all juriſdictions either to exerciſe himſelf, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they diſtinguiſh according to the judgement and practiſe of theſe in our times; we reade not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears, that the preſent Hierarchy, (*the abolition whereof* is deſired by the Honourable Houſes may be accordingly aboliſhed;) and yet poſſibly the Biſhops of theſe primitive times might be, they are ſo far differing one from another.

In anſwer to that part of your Majeſties paper, wherein you inquire whether our Saviour and his Apoſtles did ſo leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleaſure; we humbly conceive that there are ſubſtantials belonging to Church-government, ſuch

are appointed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleaſure: But as for Arch-Biſhops, &c. we hope it will appear unto your Majeſties conſcience, that they are none of the Church Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; we beſeech your Majeſty, rather to look to the originall of them then Succeſſion.

# His MAJESTIES Anſwer to the Paper delivered to Him by the Miniſters attending the PARLIAMENTS Commiſſioners.

## *Concerning Church-Government.*

*C.R.*

HIs Majeſty upon peruſal of your Anſwer to His Paper of the ſecond of *October* 1648. finderh that you acknowledge the ſeveral Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, *viz.* that the Apoſtles in their own perſons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did or might actually exerciſe the ſame in all the three ſeveral branches in His paper ſpecified; and ſo in effect you grant all that is deſired. For the Biſhops challenge no more or other power

to belong unto them in reſpect of their Epiſcopal offices, as it is diſtinct from that of Preſbyters, then what properly falleth under one of theſe three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Cenſures.

But you preſently after deny the perſons that exerciſed the power aforeſaid to have been Biſhops, or had exerciſed Epiſcopal government in that ſenſe as Biſhops are diſtinct from Preſbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very ſame thing you had before granted: For Epiſcopal Government in that ſenſe being nothing elſe but the government of the Churches within a certain precinct (commonly called a Dioceſſe) committed to one ſingle perſon, with ſufficient authority over the Preſbyters and people of thoſe Churches for that end; ſince the ſubſtance of the thing it ſelf in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unleſſe you will ſtrive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzelling and ſubverting of thoſe that ſeek after truth) you muſt alſo acknowledge that Epiſcopal Government in the ſence aforeſaid may be ſufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you ſay next, and for proof thereof inſiſt upon three ſeveral Texts, *Titus* 1.5.7. *Acts* 20. 17.18. 1 *Pet.* 5.1.2. His Majeſty conceives (as to the preſent buſineſſe) that the moſt that can be proved from all or any of thoſe places, is this, That the word Biſhop is there uſed to ſignifie a Preſbyter, and that conſequently the Office and work mentioned in thoſe places as the Office and work of a Biſhop, are the Office and work of a Preſbyter; which is conſeſt on all ſides, although his Majeſty is not ſure that the proof will reach ſo far in each of thoſe places. But from thence to infer an abſolute Identity of the Functions of a Biſhop and a Preſbyter is a fallacy, which his Majeſty obſerves to run in a manner quite along your whole anſwer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted,

that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and Offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove, that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilful in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more then an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their several precincts, in the acts of external government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministery of the Gospel, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguisht from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applied unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock; rather then unto Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of the

Successours

Succeſſours; the names were by common uſage (which is the beſt maſter of words) very ſoon appropriated, that of *Epiſcopus* to the Eccleſiaſtical Governour or Biſhop of a Dioceſſe, and that of Preſbyter to the ordinary Miniſter or Prieſt.

His Majeſty hath rather cauſe to wonder, That upon ſuch premiſes you ſhould conclude with ſo much confidence, as if the point were rendred moſt clear to the judgement of moſt men both ancient and of latter times, That there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majeſty remembreth to have ſeen cited, by ſuch Authors as he hath no reaſon to ſuſpect, both out of the ancient Fathers and Councels, and out of ſundry modern Writers, even of theſe reformed Churches, that want Biſhops, great variety of Teſtimonies to the contrary.

His Majeſty is not ſatisfied with your Anſwer, concerning the Apoſtles exerciſe of Epiſcopal government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling; our Saviour himſelf was the firſt and chief Apoſtle, and Biſhop of our Souls, ſent by the Father and anointed by the holy Ghoſt, to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Miſſion he received authority, and by Unction abilities for theſe works which he performed in his own perſon, whileſt he lived upon the earth: Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to the Worlds end, he choſe certain perſons upon whom he conferd both theſe powers, whereby they became alſo Apoſtles and Biſhops, by making them partakers both of his Miſſion before his Aſſention (*As my Father ſent me ſo I ſend you*) and of his Unction ſhortly after his Aſſenſion, when he poured upon them the Holy Ghoſt at Penticoſt. The Miſſion both for teaching and governing (at leaſt for the ſubſtance of it)

it) was ordinary and to continue to the end of the World (*Matth.*28.18.20. And therefore necessarily to descend, and be by them transmitted to others, as their Substitutes or Successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost, in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheſyings, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning of spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needful for the planting of the Churches, and propogation of the Gospel in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have Successours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling, which being of necessary and continual use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a Function of ordinary and perpetual use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, then the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more then ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary Offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately succeeding them in the office of teaching: and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First

1. Firſt you ſay that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangeliſts, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implyes any ſuch thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was ſo.

2. Setting aſide mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangeliſt, is ſuch as you have deſcribed it; The work of an Evangeliſt which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do ſeems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithſtanding all impediments and oppoſition.

3. That which you ſo confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangeliſts, is not onely denied, but clearly refuted by *Scultetus*, *Gerard*, and others; yea even with ſcorn rejected of late, (as his Majeſty is informed) by ſome rigid Preſbyterians, as *Gilleſpee*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you ſo confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops, is not onely confirmed by the conſentient teſtimony of all Antiquity (even *Jerome* himſelf having recorded it, that they were Biſhops, and that of *S. Pauls* Ordination) and acknowledged by very many late Divines: but a Catalogue alſo of 27 Biſhops of *Epheſus* lineally ſucceeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* againſt *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofes; That they were from *Epheſus* and *Creet* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the ſeveral journeys and ſtations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonſtrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5. Where-

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4 9. and *Tit.* 3.12. That they were called away from those places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, then it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the ancient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the Seven Churches were *personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary stile, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakning, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to His two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet

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his Majeſty cannot but obſerve in this (as in ſome parts of your anſwer) how willing you are *verſari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to ſpeak out, and to declare plainly & directly what your opinion is concerning thoſe Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichriſt of Epiſcopacy; *Salmatius* very peremptorily *(ſit ergo hoc fixum, &c.)* affirmeth, the whole Churches; or ſo many individual Paſtors of the greater Church in theſe Cities, or the whole Colledge of Preſbyters in the reſpective Churches, or the ſingular and individual Preſidents of theſe Colledges. For into ſo many ſeveral opinions are theſe few divided among themſelves, who have divided themſelves from the common and received judgement of the Chriſtian Church.

In the following Diſcourſe you deny that the Apoſtles were to have any ſucceſſors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and ſtanding Officers in the Church, *viz. Preſbyters* and *Deacons*.

What his Majeſty conceiveth concerning the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Succeſſors *in eundem gradum*, in reſpect of theſe things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the meaſure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is ſundry times mentioned as a ſpecial character of an Apoſtle properly ſo called) they having ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh. But in theſe things that were not extraordinary (and ſuch thoſe things are to be judged which are neceſſary for the ſervice of the Church in all times, as the Office of Teaching, and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Succeſſors; and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councels of old times, did uſually ſtile Biſhops the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, without any ſcrupling thereat.

And as to the ſtanding Officers of the Church, although

although in the place by you cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention of Biſhops as diſtinct from Preſbyters, but of the two Orders onely of Biſhops or Preſbyters and Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other ſtanding Office in the Church beſides, for there appears two other manifeſt Reaſons, why that of Biſhops might not be ſo proper to be mentioned in thoſe places; the one, becauſe in the Churches which the Apoſtles themſelves planted, they placed Preſbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themſelves the care, and reſerved in their own hands, the power of governing of theſe Churches, for a longer or ſhorter time, as they ſaw it expedient for the propagating of the Goſpel, before they ſet Biſhops over them; and ſo it may be probable that there was as yet no Biſhop ſet over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epiſtle to them. The other, becauſe in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the perſons to whom he wrote being themſelves Biſhops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice or qualification of any other ſort of Officers, then ſuch as belonged to their ordination or inſpection which were Preſbyters and Deacons onely, and no Biſhops.

*Concerning the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.*

First, his Majeſty beleeveth, that although Faith as it is an aſſent unto truth ſupernatural, or of Divine Revelation, reacheth no further then the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact, humane teſtimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certain and infallible, as by credit of Hiſtories we have an infallible faith that *Ariſtotle* was a Greek Philoſopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The darkneſſe of theſe times in reſpect of the Hiſtory of the Church, is a very ſtrong Argument for

Epiſcopacy,

Epiſcopacy; for that notwithſtanding the darkneſſe of the times there is found ſo full and clear a proof, by the unqueſtioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Biſhops of ſundry famous Cities, as *Jeruſalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Epheſus, &c.* in a continued ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, as ſcarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* teſtimony cited by you, his Majeſty conceiveth you make uſe of your old fallacy, from the promiſcuous uſe of the words to infer the indiſtinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the diſtinct Offices of Biſhops and Preſbyters, who either readeth his whole Epiſtle, or conſidereth that he himſelf was a Biſhop in that ſence, even by the confeſſion of *Videlius* himſelf, a man never yet ſuſpected to favour Biſhops, who ſaith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens ſolus Epiſcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat diſtinctio Epiſcopi & Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, though ſome of late out of their partial diſ-affection to Biſhops, have endeavoured to diſcredit the whole Volume of them by all poſſible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or truth, yet ſundry of them are ſuch, as being atteſted by the ſuffrages of Antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his; and there is ſcarce any of them which doth not give teſtimony to the Prelacy of a Biſhop above a Preſbyter: *Ignatius* himſelf was a Biſhop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of CHRIST.

4. You grant, that not long after the Apoſtles times Biſhops are found in the Writers of thoſe times, reported as in ſome ſuperiority to Preſbyters; but you might have added farther out of theſe Writers (if you had pleaſed) that they were ſome of them, as *James* at *Jeruſalem*, *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, *Titus* in *Greet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, conſtituted and ordained

Biſhops

Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopal Office: And his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all, or most of the testimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the 8. do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, whereof advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a Schoole point (which in respect of the thing it self is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious questionists, *Vtrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-Government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced either from the very same Writers, or from others of as good authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearnesse far beyond those by you mentioned to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiastical Functions, (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions, or additions granted by the favour of his Royal progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or priviledges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more then the Addition of Armes or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it self naked, or devested of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantials touching their persons or

Office

Office ſhould be in all reſpects the ſame under Chriſtian Princes, as it was when Chriſtians lived among Pagans, and under perſecution; yet his Majeſty ſo far approveth of your Anſwer in that behalf, that he thinketh it well worthy the ſtudies and endeavours of Divines of both opinions, laying aſide emulation and private intereſts, to reduce Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery into ſuch a well proportioned form of ſuperiority and ſubordination, as may beſt reſemble the Apoſtolical and primitive times, ſo far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all conſiderable circumſtances will admit, ſo as the power of Church-Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly ſpiritual, may remain authoritative in the Biſhop, but that power not to be exerciſed without the concurrence or aſſiſtance of his Preſbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the authority of S. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or aſſiſtance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to juriſdiction (though they are in the Biſhops, as before is expreſt) yet the outward exerciſe of them may be ordered and diſpoſed, or limited by the Soveraign power to which by the Laws of the place, and the acknowledgement of the Clergy they are ſubordinate; but his Majeſty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect aſſurance, that in the deſired abolition of the preſent Hierarchy, the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and conſequently of Preſbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the laſt part of his Majeſties Paper, his Majeſty would have been better ſatisfied if you had been more particular in your Anſwer thereunto; you tell him in general, that there are ſubſtantials in Church Government appointed by Chriſt, &c. but you neither ſay what theſe ſubſtantials are, nor in whoſe hands they are left; whereas his Majeſty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly,

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whether Christ or his Apostles left any certain form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same bindes all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certain form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetual and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopal, or the Presbyterian Government or some other differing from them both?

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the Original of Bishops, then to their Succession, his Majesty thinks it needful to look at both, especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certain and ready way to finde out their original.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth professe, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence in him; so he doubts not but somewhat may appear to you in His which was not so clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him of endeavouring to give satisfaction in all He can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes though it hath taken up; it hath not mis-spent His time.

*Newport*, Octob. 6.

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# The Anſwer of the Miniſters attending the *Commiſsioners* of *Parliament*, to the ſecond Paper delivered to them by His *Majeſty*, October 6. 1648:

Delivered to his *Majeſty*, Octob. 17.

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty*,

AS in our paper of *October* the third, in anſwer to your Majeſties of *October* the ſecond, we did, ſo now again we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majeſties paper do prove, that the Apoſtles in their own perſons, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had power reſpectively, to do thoſe things, which are in thoſe places of Scripture ſpecified: But as then, ſo now alſo, we humbly do deny, that any of the perſons or Officers fore-mentioned were Biſhops, as diſtinct from Preſbyters, or did exerciſe Epiſcopal Government in that ſence: Or that this was in the leaſt meaſure proved by the alleadged Scriptures, and therefore our *Negative* not being to the ſame point, or ſtate of the Queſtion which was *affirmed*; We humbly conceive that we ſhould not be interpreted, to have in effect, denyed the very ſame thing, which we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that the ſeveral Scriptures do prove the thing, for which they are cited by your Majeſty: And, if that, which we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in your Margin, your Majeſty intended to prove; *It* will follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your Majeſties part, to make up that concluſion which is pretended.

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As then we ſtood upon the Negative to that aſſertion, ſo we now crave leave to repreſent to your Majeſty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The Reaſon given by your Majeſty in this paper, to ſupport your aſſertion: That the perſons that exerciſed the power aforeſaid were Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe, is taken from a deſcription of Epiſcopal Government; 'Which is (as 'your Majeſty ſaith) nothing elſe, but the Govern-'ment of the Churches within a certain precinct, com-'monly called a Dioceſſe) committed to one ſingle 'perſon, with ſufficient authority over the Preſbyters, 'and people of thoſe Churches for that end; which 'Government ſo preſcribed, being for ſubſtance of 'the thing it ſelf in all the three forementioned par-'ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Diſcipline, and 'Cenſures) found in Scriptures, except we will con-'tend about names and words, muſt be acknowledged 'in the ſenſe aforeſaid to be ſufficiently proved from 'Scriptures: and your Majeſty ſaith further, that the 'Biſhops doth challenge more, or other power to be-'long to them, in reſpect of their Epiſcopal Office, as 'it is diſtinct from that of Preſbyters, then what pro-'perly falls under one of thoſe three.

We deſire to ſpeak both to the Biſhops of *challenge*, and to your Majeſties *Deſcription* of *Epiſcopal Government*. And firſt to their Challenge; becauſe it is firſt expreſt in your MAJESTIES Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Reſpects; 1. In reſpect of the *power* challenged: 2. In reſpect of that ground, or *Tenure* upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged conſiſts of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving Rules* of Diſcipline and *Cenſures*. No more, no other, in reſpect of their Epiſcopal office. We ſee not, by what warrant this writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apoſtolical office is thus ſhared or divided; the

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*Governing* part into the Biſhops hands; the *teaching*, and *adminiſtring* Sacraments, into the Preſbyters. For beſides that the Scripture makes no ſuch incloſure, or partition wall; it appears the challenge is grown to more then was pretended unto in the times of grown Epiſcopacy. *Jerome*, and *Chryſoſtome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Biſhop and Preſbyter differed onely in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Bilſon* makes ſome abatement in the claim of *three*, ſaying, the things proper to Biſhops, which might not be common to Preſbyters, are ſingularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made is Apoſtolical, which with us is all one with *Divine Inſtitution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this Church of *England*, either in time of *Popery*, or of the firſt Reformation; and whenſoever the pretenſion hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of the challenge, that they might reſolve it at laſt into the Scripture, did chuſe the moſt plauſible way of aſcending by the way of *Succeſſion*; going up the River to finde the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they ſhrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Thoſe that would carry it higher, endeavoured to imp it into the *Apoſtolical office*, and ſo at laſt called it a *Divine inſtitution*, not in force of any expreſſe precept, but *implicite practiſe* of the Apoſtles, and ſo the *Apoſtolical office* (excepting the gifts, or enablements conſeſt only extraordinary) is brought down to be *Epiſcopal*, and the *Epiſcopal* raiſed up to be *Apoſtolical*. Whereupon it follows, that the *higheſt* Officers in the Church are put into a *lower* orb; an *extraordinary* office turned into an *ordinary diſtinct* office,

fice, confounded with that which in the Scripture is *not found*; a *temporary*, and an *extinct* office revived. And indeed, if the diſtinctions of both be rightly made, they are ſo *incompatible* to the ſame ſubject, that he that will take both muſt loſe the one: *aut Apoſtolus Epiſcopatum, aut Apoſtolatum Epiſcopus.* For the Apoſtles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere*, then Preſbyters, or Biſhops can do; and if they were indeed Biſhops, and their government properly Epiſcopal in diſtinct ſenſe, then it is not needful to go ſo far about to prove Epiſcopal government of Divine inſtitution, becauſe they practiſed it: but to aſſert expreſſely that Chriſt inſtituted it immediately in them.

For your Majeſties *definition* of Epiſcopal government, it is extracted out of the Biſhops of later date, then Scripture times, and doth not ſute with that Meridian, under which there were more Biſhops then one in a Precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archiepiſcopal, and Patriarchal government, as Epiſcopal. The parts of this diſinition, *materially* and *abſtractly* conſidered, may be found in Scripture. The Apoſtles *Timothie* and *Titus*, were ſingle perſons, but not limited to a Precinct: the government of the *Angels* was limited to a Precinct, but not in ſingle perſons. In ſeveral offices not to be confounded, the parts of this diſinition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary, and ſtanding Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majeſties definition (as it ought to be) we ſhould crave leave to ſay it would be *gratis dictum*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth [illegible] all theſe parts together in a Biſhop, who never [illegible] rowed of *Apoſtles*, *Evangeliſts* and *Angels* the matter of governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, diſpenſing Sacraments and dealing onely *in foro interno*, to Preſbyters, until after times. By the

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that hath been ſaid, it is manifeſt enough, that we contend not firſt *de nomine*; about the name of Epiſcopal Government: which yet (though names ſerve for diſtinction) is not called or diſtinguiſhed by that name in Scripture. Nor ſecondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apoſtles did the ſame work which Biſhops, or Preſbyters are to do in ordinary. Therefore they were of the ſame Office: for as it is ſaid of the liberal and learned Arts, one and the ſame thing may be handled in divers of them, and yet theſe Arts are diſtinguiſht by the *formalis ratio* of handling of them, ſo we ſay of Offices, they are diſtinguiſht by their Callings and Commiſſions, though not by the work, as all thoſe that are named, (*Epheſ.* 4.11.) *Apoſtles*, *Prophets*, *Evangeliſts*, *Paſtors*, and *Teachers*, are deſigned to one and the ſame general and common work: *The work of the Miniſtery*, verſ. 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its ſaid, *ſome* Apoſtles, *ſome* Prophets, *ſome* Evangeliſts, and *ſome* Paſtors and Teachers; a *Dictator* in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*. *Moſes* and the ſubordinate Governours of *Iſrael*. The Court of *Parliament* and of the *Kings Bench*, an *Apoſtle* and a *Presbyter* or *Deacon* may agree in ſome common work, and yet no confuſion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Majeſty conceives, that the moſt that can be proved from all, or any of thoſe places, by us alleadged (to prove that the Name, Office and Work of Biſhops and Presbyters is one and [illegible]ame in all things, and not in the leaſt diſtinguiſht) is, that the word Biſhop is uſed in them to ſignifie a Preſbyter, and that conſequently the Office, and Work, mentioned in theſe places as the Office and Work of a Biſhop, are the Office

of a Preſbyter, which is confeſſed on all ſides. We make this humble return, That though there be no ſuppoſition ſo much as implyed, that the Office of a Biſhop and a Preſbyter, are diſtinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocal,) yet we take your Majeſties conceſſion, that in theſe times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no diſtinct Office of Biſhops and Preſbyters; and conſequently that the identity of the Office muſt ſtand, until there can be found a clear diſtinction or diviſion in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions from the *community* of names, *and ſome part* of the work, the Argument might have been juſtly termed a *fallacy*, but we proved them the ſame Office from the ſame work, *per omnia*, being allowed ſo to do by the fulneſſe of thoſe two words uſed in the *Acts* and S. *Peter* his Epiſtle πρεσβυτερον and ἐπισκοπὴ, under the force of which words the Biſhops claim their whole power of Government and Juriſdiction, and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apoſtle departing from the *Epheſian Preſbyters or Biſhops*, as *never to ſee their faces more*, commits (as by a final charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Preſbyters and people; not to *Timothy* who then ſtood at his elbow, but to the Preſbyters under the name of Biſhops, *made by the holy Ghoſt*, whom we read to have ſet many Biſhops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apoſtles arguing from the ſame qualification of a Presbyter and of a Biſhop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the ſame Order or Function: the *diverſe Orders* of Preſbyter and Deacon being diverſly characteriſed, upon theſe grounds (we hope without fallacy) we conceive it juſtly proved, that a Biſhop and a Preſbyter are wholly the ſame. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were ſingle perſons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but do

ny, that from thence any argument can be made unto either ſingle Biſhop or Preſbyter: for though a ſingle Preſbyter by the power of his Order (as they call it) may preach the Word and diſpenſe the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Preſbytery, their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *Telling the Church* in matter of ſcandal, it ſeems manifeſt, that Ordination and Cenſures are not to be exerciſed by a ſingle Preſbyter; neither hath your Majeſty hitherto proved either the names of Biſhops and Preſbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all diſtinguiſhed; You having wholly waved the notice or anſwer of that we did inſert (and do yet deſire ſome demonſtration of the contrary) *viz.* That the Scripture doth not afford us the leaſt notice of *any qualification*, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any *honour* peculiarly belonging to a Biſhop diſtinct from a Preſbyter; the aſſignment of which, or any of them unto a Biſhop, by the Scripture, would put this Queſtion near to an iſſue: That GOD ſhould intend a diſtinct and higheſt kinde of Officer for government in the Church, and yet not expreſſe any qualification, work, or way of conſtituting and ordaining of him, ſeems unto us improbable. Concerning the ſignification of the word *Epiſcopus*, importing an Overſeer, or one that hath a charge committed to him: For inſtance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; and the application of the name to ſuch perſons as have inſpection of the Churches of Chriſt committed to them *in ſpiritualibus*: We alſo give our ſuffrage, but not to that diſtinction of *Epiſcopus gregis*, and *Epiſcopus paſtorum & gregis*; both becauſe it is the [illegible] in queſtion; and alſo becauſe your Majeſty having ſignified that *Epiſcopus* imports a *keeper of ſheep*, yet you have not ſaid that it ſignifies alſo a *keeper of ſhepherds*. As to that which is affirmed by your Majeſty, that the peculiar of the function of Biſhops is Church-government; and that the rea-

ſon why the word *Epiſcopus* is ſo uſually applyed to Preſbytery, was, becauſe Church Governours had then another title of greater eminency, to wit, that of *Apoſtles*; until the Government of the Churches came into the hands of their Succeſſours; and then the names were by common uſage very ſoon appropriated; That of *Epiſcopus* to Eccleſiaſtical Governours; That of *Preſbyters* to the ordinary Miniſters. This aſſertion your Majeſty is pleaſed to make without any demonſtration; for the Scripture calls Preſbyters, Rulers, and Paſtors and Teachers, it calls Governours; and commits to them the charge of feeding and inſpection as we have proved, and that without any mention of Church Government peculiar to Biſhops; we deny not, but ſome of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Biſhops were called Apoſtles, till the names of *Preſbyter* and *Epiſcopus* became appropriate, which is either an alluſion or conceipt, without evidence of Scripture; For, while the Function was one, the names were not divided; When the Function was divided, the name was divided alſo, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for the ſame warrant, for the diviſion of an Office, as for the Conſtitution, cannot finde that this appropriation of names, was made till afterwards, or in proceſſe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whoſe ſaying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture time, we can no further follow; from which premiſes laid altogether, wee did conclude the cleerneſſe of our aſſertion, That in the *Scriptures of the New Teſtament*, a Biſhop diſtinct from a Preſbyter in *Qualification, Order, Office or Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof though your Majeſty ſaith, that you have ſeen confirmed by great variety of credible Teſtimony, yet we believe thoſe teſtimonies are rather ſtrong in aſſerting, then in demonſtrating the Scriptures Original of

a Biſhop, which is declared againſt by a cloud of witneſſes, named in the later end of our former Anſwer, unto which we ſhould refer if matter of right were not proper-tryable by Scripture; as matter of fact is by Teſtimony.

We ſaid that the Apoſtles were the higheſt Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were diſtinguiſht from all other Officers, and that their Government was not *Epiſcopal*, but *Apoſtolical*; to which Anſwer, your Majeſty being not ſatisfied, doth oppoſe certain aſſertions, 'That 'Chriſt himſelf and the Apoſtles received their au-'thority by Miſſion, their ability by Unction; That 'the Miſſion of the Apoſtles was ordinary, and to 'continue to the end of the World; but the Unction, whereby they were enabled to both Offices and 'Functions, Teaching and Governing, was indeed 'extraordinary; That in their Unction they were 'not neceſſarily to have Succeſſours, but neceſſarily 'in their Miſſion or Office of Teaching and Govern-'ing; That in theſe two ordinary Offices, their or-'dinary ſucceſſours are Preſbyters and Biſhops; That 'Preſbyter *qua* Preſbyter do immediately ſucceed them in the Office of Teaching, and Biſhops 'qua Biſhops, immediately in the Office of Govern-'ing: The demonſtration of which laſt alone, would have carried in it more conviction, then all theſe aſſertions put together; Officers are diſtinguiſhed by that whereby they are conſtituted, their Commiſſion, which being produced, ſigned by one place of Scripture, gives ſurer evidence, then a Pedigree drawn forth by ſuch a *ſeries of diſtinctions as do not di-ſtinguiſh him* into another Office from a Preſbyter; whether this chain of diſtinction be ſtrong, and the links of it ſufficiently tackt together, we crave leave to examine, *Chriſt* ſaith, your Majeſty was the *Apoſtle and Biſhop* of our ſouls, and he made the Apoſtles both Apoſtles and Biſhops; we do not

conceive that your Majeſty means that the Apoſtles ſucceeded Chriſt as the chief Apoſtle, and that as Biſhops they ſucceeded Chriſt as a Biſhop, leſt thereby Chriſt his *Miſſion* as an *Apoſtle and Biſhop* might be conceived as ordinary as their *Miſſion* is ſaid to be: But we apprehend your Majeſty to mean, that the Office of Apoſtle and Biſhop, was eminently contained in Chriſts office, as the office of a Biſhop was eminently contained in that of Apoſtleſhip; but thence it will not follow that *inferiour* offices being contained in the *ſuperiour eminently*, are therefore exiſtent in it *formally*; For becauſe all *honours and dignities* are eminently contained in your Majeſty, would it therefore follow that your Majeſty is formally and diſtinctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is aſſerted, the Apoſtles to have been Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe; That *Miſſion* refers to Office and authority, and *Unction* onely to Ability, we cannot conſent: for beſides that the breathing of Chriſt upon his Diſciples, ſaying, *Receive ye the holy Ghoſt*, doth refer to *miſſion* as well as *unction*; we conceive that in the proper *anointing of Kings*, or other Officers, the natural uſe and effect of the oyl upon the body, was not ſo much intended, as the ſolemn and ceremonious uſe of it in the inauguration of them; ſo there is relation to Office in unction, as well as to conferring of abilities; elſe how are Kings, or Prieſts, or Prophets, ſaid to be anointed? And what good ſenſe could be made of that expreſſion in Scripture, of anointing one in anothers room: to omit, that Chriſt by this conſtruction ſhould be called the *Meſſias* in reſpect of abilities onely. And although we ſhould grant your Majeſties explication of *Miſſion* and *Unction*, yet it will not follow that the *Miſſion* of the Apoſtles was ordinary, and their *unction* onely extraordinary: That into which there is ſucceſſion, was ordinary; That into which there is no ſucceſſion, (for ſucceſſion is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary; and ſo the Apoſtles were

were ordinary Officers in all whereunto there is properly any ſucceſſion, and that is *office*. They differed from Biſhops in that wherein one Apoſtle or Officer of the ſame order might differ from another, to wit, in abilities and meaſure of Spirit, but not in that wherein one order of Officers is above another by their office; to which we cannot give conſent; for ſince no man is denominated an Officer from his meer abilities or gifts, ſo neither can the Apoſtles be called extraordinary Officers, becauſe of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apoſtles miſſion and office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate Commiſſion from Chriſt without any intervention of men, either in Election or Ordination for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatſoever; and therefore it ſeems to us very unreaſonable, that the office and authority of the Apoſtles ſhould be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *ſtock*, into which the ordinary office of a Biſhop may be *ingrafted*, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Chriſt himſelf, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reaſon given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing, was ordinary in the Apoſtles, becauſe of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to ſay) is that great miſtake which runs through the whole file of your Majeſties diſcourſe, for though there be a ſucceſſion in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no Succeſſion in the *Commiſſion or Office* by which the Apoſtles performed them for the office of *Chriſt* of *Apoſtles*, of *Evangeliſts*, of *Prophets*, is thence alſo concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the diſtinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* deſtroyed; the Succeſſion may be into the ſame *work*, not into the ſame *Commiſſion and Office*, the ordinary Officers, which are to

manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, setled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission then that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of teaching and governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolical Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops do stand, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction, though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scriptures no where imployeth any such things at all: that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text cleerly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

2. The name of *Bishop*, the Scripture neither expressly nor by implication gives to either of the work which they are injoyned to do is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it self make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of Officers in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers

with

with the Apoſtles, ſent abroad to ſeveral Churches as occaſion did require, it is as we (humbly conceive) clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Epiſcopal Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himſelf during the time of their travailes.

2. To that which Your Majeſty ſecondly ſaith, 'That we cannot make it appear by any Text of 'Scripture that the Office of Evangeliſts is ſuch as we 'have deſcribed, his work ſeeming, 2 *Timothy* 2. '4.5. to be nothing elſe but diligence in preaching 'the Word, notwithſtanding all impediments and 'oppoſitions, We humbly anſwer, That *exact definitions* of theſe or other Church Officers are hard to bee found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apoſtles and Preſbyters were, the deſcription by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Maſter *Hooker*, *Eccleſ. Polit. lib.* 5. doth not much vary, ſaying, that *Evangeliſts were Presbyters of principal ſufficiency whom the Apoſtle ſent abroad and uſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſtical Affaires, whereſoever they ſaw need.* And that *Paſtors* and *Teachers* were ſetled in ſome certain charge, and thereby differed from *Evangeliſts*, whoſe work that it ſhould be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Teachers, and ſo not diſtinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apoſtles Office was divided into Epiſcopal and Apoſtolick, ſo this alſo is to be divided in Epiſcopal and Evangeliſtical, Ordination and Cenſures belonging to *Timothy* as a Biſhop, and diligence in preaching onely being left to the *Evangeliſts*, which diviſion (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

'Thirdly, Your Majeſty ſaith, that that which we 'ſo confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their act-'ing as Evangeliſts, is by ſome *denied* and *refuted*, 'yea even with ſcorn *rejected* by ſome rigid Preſby-'terians, and that which we ſo confidently deny, that 'they were Byſhops, is *confirmed* by the conſentient 'teſtimony of all Antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* 'himſelf, that they were Biſhops of Saint *Pauls* 'ordination, acknowledged by very many late Di-'vines, and that a Catalogue of 27 *Biſhops of Epheſus* 'lineally ſucceeding from *Timothy*, out of good Re-'cord, is vouched by Doctor *Reynolds*, and other 'Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majeſty is pleaſed to call it) was in our Anſwer expreſt in theſe words, *We cannot ſay* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops in the ſenſe of your Majeſty, but *extraordinary Officers or Evangeliſts*, in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a total ignorance of thoſe Teſtimonies which might be alledged againſt it, but from intrinſick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majeſty hath not produced any one to the contrary, nor is our confidence weakned by ſuch replyes as theſe, the *Scripture* never cals them Biſhops; but the *Fathers* do, the *Scripture* cals *Timothy* an *Evangeliſt*, ſome of late have refuted it, and rejected it with ſcorn; the *Scripture* relates their *motions* from Church to Church, but *ſome affirm* them to be fixed at *Epheſus* & in *Crete*, the *Scripture* makes diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but ſome ſay that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both; we cannot give your Majeſty a preſent account of *Sculteius* and *Gothards* Arguments, but do believe that Mr. *Gilleſpi* and *Rutherford* are able with greater ſtrength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Biſhops, then they do (if they do) with ſcorn reject this of their being Evangeliſts: As for *teſtimonies and catalogues* though we undervalue them not, yet your Majeſty will be pleaſed to allow

us the uſe of our Reaſon, ſo far as not to erect an Office in the Church, which is not found in Scripture, upon *general appellations* or *titles* and *alluſions* frequently found in the Fathers, eſpecially when they ſpeak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate, for even *Jerome*, who as your Majeſty ſaith doth Record, that *Timothy* & *Titus* were made Biſhops, and that of S. *Pauls* Ordination, doth when he ſpeaks to the point between your Majeſty and us, give the Biſhops no underſtand that they are ſuperiour to Presbyters *conſuetudine magis quam Dominicæ veritatis diſpoſitione*; for *catalogues* their credit reſts upon the firſt witneſſes from whom they are reported by *tradition* from hand to hand, whoſe writings are many times *ſuppoſitious*, *dubious*, or not *extant*; beſides that theſe *catalogues* do reſolve themſelves into ſome *Apoſtle* or *Evangeliſt* as the firſt *Biſhop*, as the catalogue of *Jeruſalem* into the Apoſtle *James*, that of *Antioch* into *Peter*, that of *Rome* into Peter and *Paul*, that of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Epheſus* into *Timothy*, which Apoſtles and Evangeliſts can neither themſelves be degraded by being made Biſhops, nor be ſucceeded in their proper calling or office; and it is eaſie for us to proceed the ſame way, and to finde many ancient rites and cuſtoms generally received in the Church (counted by the antients *Apoſtolical traditions*) as neer the Apoſtles times as Biſhops, which yet, are confeſſedly, not of *Divine inſtitution*: and further, if *Timothy* and the reſt that are firſt in the *catalogue* were Biſhops with ſuch ſole power of Ordination and Cenſures, as is aſſerted, how came their pretended Succeſſours, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themſelves call them) to loſe ſo much Epiſcopal power as was in their predeceſſours, and as was not recovered in 300 hundred years? and therefore we cannot upon any thing yet ſaid, recede from that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit ſic*, from the beginning it was not ſo.

Your

'Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon very weak proofs, that they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places, the contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated by some, who have exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and order of the several journeyes, and stations of *Paul* and *Timothy*.'

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, lies with some stresse upon this, that they *removed from place to place*, as they were *sent by*, or *accompanied* the Apostles, the proof whereof appears to us, to bee of greater strength, then can bee taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travails* of *Timothy*, as we finde them in order recorded in the Scripture, places cited in the Margin; and wee set forth from *Berea*, *Acts* 17.14. where we finde *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*, *v.* 15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.* 3.1,2. afterward having been in *Macedonia*, he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Acts* 18.5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19.22. whether S. *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20.4. who was with him at *Troas*, *verse* 5. 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, *verse* 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves*, and to all the *flock*, over which the holy Ghost hath made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was *Bishop of Ephesus*, he must be so when the *first Epistle* was sent to him, in which hee is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopal power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continual journeys, or

abſent from *Epheſus*. For *Paul* left him at *Epheſus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1.3. and he left him there to exerciſe his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jeruſalem*, whence he was ſent priſoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.* 13.23. *Phil.* 1.1. *Philem. v.* 1. *Col.* 1.1. *Heb.* 13.23. we finde *Timothy* a priſoner with him; and theſe Epiſtles which Paul wrote while he was priſoner at *Rome*, namely the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Coloſſians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at theſe times, nor do we ever finde him again at *Epheſus*, for we finde that *after all this*, towards the end of Saint *Pauls* life, after his firſt anſwering before *Nero*, and when he ſaid his departing was at hand, he ſent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Epheſus*; 2 *Tim.* 4. 6, 10, 11, 12, 16. for it ſeemes that *Timothy* was not there, becauſe *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the abſence of the moſt of his companions ſent into diverſe parts, he ſaith *Tychicus* have I ſent to *Epheſus*. Now if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed, to caſt up into one total that which is ſaid; the ſeveral journeyes and ſtations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time ſpent in them, the nature of his employment, *to negotiate the affairs of Chriſt in ſeveral Churches and places*, the ſilence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Biſhop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that ſuch a man was not a Biſhop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by aſſuming that *Timothy* was ſuch a man, you will conclude that he was not Biſhop of *Epheſus*.

The like concluſion may bee enforced from the like premiſes, from the inſtance of *Titus*, whom we finde at *Jeruſalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before hee came to

*Crete*,

*Crete*, from whence he is ſent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3. 12. and after that he is ſent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, 2 *Cor.* 2. 12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is ſent again to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is near the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. and after this is not heard on in the Scripture; and ſo we hope your Majeſty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very *weak proofs*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Epeſus* and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majeſty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from thoſe places of *Epheſus* and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of themſelves, yet being accompanied by *two other places* which your Majeſty takes no notice of, may ſeem to conclude more, and theſe are 1 *Tim.* v. 1. 3. *Tit.* 1. 5. *As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *for this cauſe* left I thee *in Crete*, in both which is ſpecified the occaſional imployment, for which they made ſtay in thoſe places: and the expreſſions uſed, *I beſought* thee to *abide ſtill at Epeſus*, *I left thee* in *Crete*, do not ſound like words of *inſtallment* of a man into a Biſhoprick, but of an *intendment* to call them away again; and if the firſt and laſt be put together, his *actual revocation* of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they ſhould not ſtay there for continuance, and the reaſon of his beſeeching the one to ſtay, and of his leaving the other behinde him, which was ſome preſent defects and diſtempers in thoſe Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apoſtle *intended not* to eſtabliſh them Biſhops of thoſe places, and therefore *did not*. For the *Poſtſcripts*, becauſe your Majeſtie layes no great weight upon them, we ſhall not be ſolicitous in producing evidence againſt them, though they do bear witneſſe in a matter of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your Majeſties

Majeſties judgement *was long before they were born*, and ſo we conclude this Diſcourſe about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this Obſervation, That in the ſame very Epiſtle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majeſty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Biſhop, and did exerciſe Epiſcopal Government, there is clear evidence both for Preſbyters *impoſing hands*, in Ordination, and for their *Ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the 'Churches, though your Majeſty ſaith, that you lay no 'weight upon the *Allegory* or *Myſtery* of the denomi-'nation; yet you aſſert, that the perſons bearing that 'name were *perſonæ ſingulares*, and in a word *Biſhops*; who yet are never ſo called in Scripture; and the allegorical denomination of Angels or Stars, which in the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithful Miniſters and Preachers of the Word in general, is appropriate (as we may ſo ſay) to the *Myter* and *Croſier ſtaffe*, and ſo oppoſed to many expreſſe teſtimonies of Scripture: And if your Majeſty hath been particular in that, wherein you ſay the ſtrength of your inſtance lies, *viz.* The judgement of all ancient, and of the beſt modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it ſelf, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it ſelf do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is aſſerted, That theſe ſingular perſons were Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirm this, we humbly ſubmit to your Majeſties judgement, and ſhall onely repreſent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Anſwer ſeems to us of moment, which is this; That in *Myſterious* and *prophetick writings* or *viſional repreſentations* (ſuch as this of the Stars and golden Candleſticks is) a number of things or perſons is uſually expreſt *in ſingulars*, and this in viſions is the uſual way of Repreſentation of things, a

*thouſand*

*thouſand perſons* making up one Church, is repreſented by one *Candleſticks*. Many Miniſters making up one Preſbytery by one Angell. And becauſe your Majeſty ſeemes to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the Angels, nor are ſatisfied in our judgement, that thoſe whom ſome do undertake to name were intended by the name of Angels in thoſe Epiſtles; yet wee ſay, *Firſt*, that theſe Epiſtles were ſent unto the Churches, and that under the expreſſion of *this thou doſt*, or *this thou haſt*, and *the like*, the *Churches* are reſpectively intended, for the *ſin reproved*, the *repentance commanded*, the *puniſhments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the ſingular Angels onely, and yet we do not think that *Salmatius* did intend, nor do we, that in formal denomination the *Angels* and *Candleſticks* are the ſame.

Secondly, The Angels of theſe Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective Body*, which wee endeavoured to prove by ſuch probabilities as your Majeſty takes no notice of, namely the inſtance of the Church of *Epheſus*, where there were many Biſhops, to whom the charge of that Church was by Saint *Paul* at his final departure from them committed; as alſo by that expreſſion, *Revel.* 2. 24. *To you* and to the reſt in *Thiatira*; which diſtinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, *to you*; the like to which many expreſſions may be found in theſe Epiſtles, which to interpret according to the conſentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Teſtament, is not ſafe onely, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, theſe Writings are directed as Epiſtolary Letters to *Collective Bodies*, uſually are (that is) to *One*, but intended to the *Body*; which your Majeſty illuſtrateth by your ſending a Meſſage to your Two Houſes, and directing it to the *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers*; which as it doth not hinder (we confeſſe)

but

but that the *Speaker is one ſingle perſon*; ſo it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* is *alwayes the ſame perſon*; or if he were, that therefore becauſe your Meſſage is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houſes in the leaſt; and ſo your Majeſty hath given clear inſtance, that though theſe Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithſtanding they might neither be Biſhops, nor yet *perpetual Moderators*. For the ſeveral opinions ſpecified in your MAJESTIES paper, *three* of them, by eaſie and fair accommodation (as wee declared before) are ſoon reduced and united amongſt themſelves, and may bee holden without *receſſe* from the received judgement of the Chriſtian Church, by ſuch as are far from meriting that Aſperſion, which is caſt upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popiſh Writers, that they have divided themſelves from the common and received judgement of the *Chriſtian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majeſties intention to lay upon us, *until* it be made clear that it is the common and received judgement of the *Chriſtian Church* that *now is*, or of that in *former Ages*, that the Angels of the Churches were Biſhops, having Prelacy as well over Paſtors as people within their Churches.

In the following Diſcourſe we will deny, that the Apoſtles were to have any Succeſſours in their Offices, and affirm onely two *Orders of Ordinary* and *Standing Officers* in the Church, viz. *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in thoſe things which were extraordinary in the Apoſtles, as namely the meaſure of their 'Gifts, &c. They had no Succeſſours in *eundem gradum*; but in thoſe things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are neceſſary for the Service of 'the Church in all Times) they were to have and

'had

'had no Succeſſours: Where your Majeſty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us. Namely, that the Apoſtles had Succeſſours into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For beſides that, Succeſſion is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot ſay, that one ſucceeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apoſtolical was extraordinary *in whole*, becauſe their Miſſion and Commiſſion was ſo, and the ſervice or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moſes* was not rendred Ordinary, becauſe many works of Government exerciſed by him, were re-committed to the *ſtanding Elders* of *Iſrael*: And if they have Succeſſors, it muſt be either into their whole Office, or into ſome parts: Their Succeſſors into the whole (however differing from them in meaſure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) muſt be called Apoſtles; the ſame Office gives the ſame Denomination; and then we ſhall confeſſe that Biſhops, if they be their Succeſſors in Office, are of *Divine Inſtitution*, becauſe the Apoſtolical Office was ſo; if their *Succeſſors* come into part of their Office onely, the *Presbyters* may as well be called their *Succeſſors*, as the Biſhops, and ſo indeed they are called by ſome of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hierome*, and others: Whereas in truth the Apoſtles have not properly *Succeſſors* into Office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is ſetled in the Church for continuance) is inſtituted and ſetled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* and Commiſſion according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the Biſhop hath not yet produced for himſelf, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the general alluſive Speeches uſed by the Fathers without ſcruple.

And whereas your Majeſty numbers the *extent* of their work amongſt thoſe things which were *extraordi-*

*nary*

*dinary* in the Apoſtles, we could wiſh that you had declared whether it belong to their Miſſion or Unction; for we humbly conceive, that their authorative power to do their Work in all places of the World, did properly belong to their Miſſion, and conſequently that their Office, as well as their Abilities was extraordinary, and ſo by your *Majeſties own conceſſion* not to be ſucceeded into by the Biſhops.

As to the Orders of ſtanding Officers of the Church your Majeſty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim* 3. 8. there be no mention 'but of the *two Orders onely of Biſhops or Presbyters, and* 'Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other ſtanding Office in the Church beſides, which we humbly conceive is juſtly proved, not only becauſe there are no other named, but becauſe there is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Miſſion*, and ſo the Argument is as good, as can be made, *a non cauſa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Biſhops pretending to the Apoſtolick Office do alſo pretend to the ſame manner of Miſſion, nor do we know that thoſe very many Divines that have aſſerted *two orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majeſty ſaith) two other manifeſt reaſons why the Office of Biſhops might not be ſo proper to be mentioned in thoſe places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifeſt then theſe two, *viz.* becauſe, *It was not.*

'The one reaſon given by your Majeſty, is becauſe 'in the Churches which the Apoſtles themſelves 'planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the 'Office of Teaching, but reſerved in their *own hands* 'the power of Governing thoſe Churches for a longer 'or ſhorter time before they ſet Biſhops over them. Which under your Majeſties favour is not ſo much a reaſon why *Biſhops are not mentioned* to be in thoſe

places

places as they indeed were not; the variety of reaſons (may wee ſay, or conjectures) rendred why Biſhops were not ſet up *at firſt*, as namely becauſe *fit men* could not be ſo ſoon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reaſon, or for remedy of *Schiſme*, which is *Jeromes* reaſon, or becauſe the Apoſtles ſaw it not *expedient*, which is your MAJESTIES reaſon: doth ſhew that this cauſe labours under a manifeſt weakneſſe; for the Apoſtles reſerving in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more deveſt themſelves of power of Governing, then (as Doctor *Bilſon* ſaith) they could loſe their Apoſtleſhip; had they ſet up Biſhops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing, then they did in ſetting up the Preſbyters: for we have proved that Preſbyters, being called *Rulers, Governours, Biſhops*, had the power of governing in *Ordinary* committed to them, as well as the Office of *Teaching*, and that both the *Keyes* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into *one hand*, were not by the Apoſtles divided *into two*: Nor do wee ſee, how the Apoſtles could reaſonably commit the Government of the Church to the Preſbyters of *Epheſus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reſerve the power of Governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his ſolemne leave of them as never to ſee their faces more*. As that part of the power of Government, which for diſtinction ſake may be called *Legis-Lative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Biſhops; *viz. Giving Rules*, the reſerving of it in the Apoſtles hands hindred not, but that in your MAJESTIES Judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apoſtle gives Rules for Ordering and Governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reaſon that the Apoſtles reſerving that part of the power of Governing which is called Executive in ſuch caſes, and upon ſuch occaſions as they

thought

thought meet ſhould hinder the ſetting up of Biſhops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reſerving of power in their hands can be no greater reaſon why they did not ſet up Biſhops *at the firſt*, then that *they never did*. And ſince (by your Majeſties Conceſſion) the Preſbyters were placed by the Apoſtles *firſt*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture, you muſt prove the *ſuper-inſtitution* of a Biſhop over the Presbyters by the Apoſtles in ſome after times, or elſe we muſt conclude that the Biſhops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Preſbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wall* roots out the ſtones by little and little as it ſelf grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majeſty ſaith, it may be probable there was *yet no Biſhop*, it is certain there *were many*, like them, who were alſo at *Epheſus*, to whom if onely the Office of Teaching did belong, they had the moſt laborious and honourable part, that which was leſſe honourable being reſerved in the Apoſtles hands, and the Churches left in the meantime without ordinary Government.

The other reaſon given why two Orders onely are mentioned in thoſe places is, becauſe he wrote in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Biſhops, ſo there was no need to write any thing concerning the Choice and Qualification of any other ſort of Officers then ſuch, as belonged to their Ordination and inſpection, which were Preſbyters and Deacons onely, and no Biſhops.

The former reaſon why two onely Orders are mentioned in the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, was, becauſe *there was yet no Biſhop*; the latter reaſon why the ſame two onely are mentioned in theſe Epiſtles, is becauſe there was *no Biſhop to be ordained*; we might own the reaſon for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other Order of Biſhops in ſome other place of Scripture, but if the *Ordination*

*cannot*

*cannot be found*, how ſhould we *finde the Order?* and it is reaſonable to think, that the Apoſtle in the Chapter formerly alleadged, 1 *Tim.* 3. where he paſſes immediatly from the Biſhop to the Deacon, would have diſtinctly expreſt, or at leaſt hinted, what ſort of Biſhop he meant, whether the *Biſhop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Biſhop*, to have avoided the confuſion of the name, and to have ſet as it were ſome mark of difference in the *Eſchocheon* of the Presbyter-Biſhop, if there had been ſome other Biſhop *of a bigger houſe*. And whereas your Maj. ſaith, there was no need to write to them about a Biſhop in a diſtinct ſence, who belonged not to their ordination and inſpection; we conceive that in your Majeſties judgment, Biſhops might then have ordained Biſhops like themſelvs; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one ſingle Biſhop to ordain another of his own rank, and there being many *Cities* in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as thoſe ancient Fathers that call him Arch-Biſhop think he did) to have ſet up Biſhops in ſome of thoſe Cities: So that this reaſon fights againſt the principles of thoſe that hold *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been Biſhops; for our part we beleeve that theſe rules belonged not to *Timothy* & *Titus* with ſtrict limitation to *Epheſus*, and *Crete*, but reſpectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and to all that ſhall at any time have the office of Ordaining and Governing, as it is written in the ſame Chapter, 1 *Tim.* 3. 14, 15. *Theſe things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou mayeſt know how to behave thy ſelf in the Houſe of God*, which is the *Church*; and therefore if there had been any proper Character or Qualification of a Biſhop diſtinct from a Preſbyter, if any *Ordination or Office*, we think the Apoſtle would have ſignified it, but becauſe he did not, we conclude (and the more ſtrongly, from the inſufficiency of your Majeſties two reaſons) that there are *onely two Orders of Officers*, and conſequently that a Biſhop is not ſuperi-

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our to a Preſbyter: for we finde not (as we ſaid in our Anſwer) that one Officer is ſuperiour to another, who is of the ſame Order.

*Concerning the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.*

'Your Majeſty having in your firſt Paper ſaid, that 'you could not in Conſcience conſent to aboliſh E-'piſcopal Government, becauſe you did conceive it 'to be of *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*, practiſed by the Apo-'ſtles themſelves, and by them committed and deri-'ved to particular perſons as their *Succeſſours*, and 'have ever ſince till theſe laſt times bin exerciſed by 'Biſhops in all the Churches of Chriſt: We thought it neceſſary in our Anſwer, to ſubjoyn to that we had ſaid out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Biſhops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the eaſing of your Majeſties ſcruple, to conſider that howſoever Epiſcopal Government was generally currant, yet the ſuperſcription was not judged Divine, by ſome of thoſe that either were themſelves Biſhops, or lived under that government, and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novelliſme*, or of *receſſe* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chryſoſtome* and *Auſtin* were Biſhops, as that *Ariſtotle* was a Philoſopher, *Cicero* an Orator; though wee ſhould rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane teſtimonies uncontrolled, then infallible in reſpect of the Teſtimonies themſelves. But whereas your Majeſty ſaith, 'That 'the darkneſſe of the Hiſtory of the Church, in the 'time ſucceeding the Apoſtles, is a ſtrong argument 'for Epiſcopacy, which notwithſtanding that dark-'neſſe hath found ſo full proof by unqueſtioned *Cata-*

logues,

'logues, as ſcarce any other matter of fact hath found;
'the like. We humbly conceive that thoſe fore-mentioned times were dark to the *Catalogue-makers*, who muſt drive the *ſeries* of Succeſſion from, and through thoſe Hiſtorical darkneſſes, and ſo make up their Catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no great Evidence, becauſe they agree not amongſt themſelves: that which is the great blemiſh of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apoſtles times (wherein they ſhould be moſt of all clear, to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion firm and clear at firſt) the more doubtful, uncertain, and indeed contradictory to one another, are the Teſtimonies. Some ſay that *Clemens* was firſt Biſhop of *Rome* after *Peter*, ſome ſay the third: and the intricacies about the Order of Succeſſion, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as ſome affirm) are inextricable. Some ſay, that *Titus* was Biſhop of *Crete*; ſome ſay Arch-biſhop; and ſome Biſhop of *Dalmatia*. Some ſay, that *Timothy* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*; and ſome ſay, that *John* was Biſhop of *Epheſus* at the ſame time time: Some ſay, that *Polycarpus* was firſt Biſhop of *Smyrna*; another ſaith, that he ſucceeded one *Buculus*; and another, that *Ariſto* was firſt. Some ſay, that *Alexandria* had but one Biſhop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Biſhop of one Citie at the ſame time. And how ſhould thoſe Catalogues be unqueſtionable, which muſt be made up out of Teſtimonies that fight one with another? We muſt confeſſe that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *&c.* made uſe of Succeſſion, as an Argument againſt *Hereticks*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apoſtolici ſeminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their ſide. But that which we now have in hand, is Succeſſion in Office; which according to the Catalogues, reſolves it ſelf into ſome Apoſtle, or Evangeliſt, as the firſt Biſhop of ſuch a City or Place, who (as we conceive)

could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they *planted, and founded, or watered* those Churches to which they are entituled, and had their greatest residence in them: Or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the Succession of after-Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successour to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolical and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Institution, &c. which is argument above all other, *the Fathers*, whose names we exhibited to your *Majesty* in our *answer*, were doubtlesse acquainted with the catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical Institution*. And left your *Majesty* might reply, That however the *testimonies* and *catalogues* may vary, or be mistaken, in the *order* or *times*, or *names* of those *persons* that succeeded the *Apostles*, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so, though the credit of the Catalogues be *infirmed*, yet the thing intended is *confirmed* thereby: We grant, that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied, and that the Apostles and Evangelists, that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiastical Writers *in compliance with the Language and usage of their own times*, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, *presiding* in the *Presbyteries* of the Cities or Churches, called by such Writers as wrote after the divi-

*ſion* or *diſtinction* of the names of Preſbyters, and Biſhops: But that thoſe firſt and ancienteſt Preſbyters were Biſhops in proper ſenſe, according to your Majeſties deſcription, inveſted with power over Preſbyters and people, to whom (as diſtinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of *Ordaining*, *giving Rules*, and *Cenſures*; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent teſtimonies. And granting, that your Majeſty ſhould prove the Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Primitive times *ſeriatim*: yet if theſe from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either *more then* Biſhops, as Apoſtles and extraordinary perſons, or *leſſe then* Biſhops, as meerly *firſt* Presbyters, having not one of the *three eſſentials to Epiſcopal government* (mentioned by your Majeſty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majeſty hath proved by this Succeſſion, is the *Homonymy* and equivocal acceptation of the word *Epiſcopus*.

For *Clemens* his teſtimony, which your Majeſty conceiveth to be made uſe of, as our old fallacy, from the *promiſcuous* uſe of the words to infer the diſtinction of the things; we refer our ſelves to himſelf in his Epiſtle, now in all mens hands, whoſe teſtimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice, of *hiding the Biſhop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epiſtle, and have conſidered, that himſelf is called a Biſhop, *may doubt of Clemens opinion*, concerning his diſtinct Offices of Biſhops and Preſbyters, or rather *not doubt* of it, if onely his one Epiſtle may be impaneld upon the Inqueſt. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epiſtles, your Majeſty is pleaſed to uſe ſome *earneſtneſſe of expreſſion*, charging ſome of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partial diſaffection to Biſhops, to have endeavoured to diſcredit his writings. One of thoſe cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be ſuſpected of diſaffection to Biſhops; and there are great arguments drawn

drawn out of thoſe Epiſtles themſelves, betraying their inſincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*; So that *Ignatius* cannot be diſtinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in groſſe, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the reſt of the Popiſh writers do) of ſuch rites and obſervations, as the Church in his time cannot be thought to have *owned*. Hee doth indeed give teſtimony to the *Prelacy*, of a Biſhop above a Preſbyter, that which may juſtly render him ſuſpected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (ſaith he) *the Biſhops* as Gods high Prieſts, and *after him* you muſt honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy *Martyr*, and his writings have ſuffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he; *corruptions could not go currant, but under the credit of worthy names*.

That which your Majeſty ſaith in your fourth Paragraph, That we might have added (if we had pleaſed) That *James, Timothy, Titus, &c.* were conſtituted and ordained Biſhops, of the forementioned places reſpectively, and that all the Biſhops of thoſe times were reputed Succeſſors to the *Apoſtles in their Epiſcopal office*: We could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apoſtles did not ordain *any of themſelves Biſhops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majeſties conceſſion, they were Biſhops before, *viz.* as they were Apoſtles, nor could any Apoſtle have his choice of a *certain Region* or place to exerciſe his function in, whileſt he pleaſed render him a Biſhop; any more then *Paul* was Biſhop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumciſion*. Neither did the Apoſtles ordain the Evangeliſts Biſhops of thoſe places unto which they ſent them: Nor were the Biſhops of thoſe times any more then as your Majeſty ſaith, *reputed Succeſſours* to the Apoſtles, in their Epiſcopal Office, they *came after* the Apoſtles in the Churches by them planted, as the Preſbyters do; but that is not properly ſucceſſion, at leaſt not ſucceſſion into office, and this we

ſay with a *Salvo* to our aſſertion, that in thoſe times there were no ſuch Biſhops diſtinct from Preſbyters. Neither do we underſtand, whether the words *Epiſcopal Office*, in this Section, refer to the Biſhops or Apoſtles; for in reference to Apoſtles, it inſinuates a diſtinction of the Apoſtles office, into Apoſtolical and Epiſcopal, or that the office Apoſtolical was wholly Epiſcopal, unto neither of which we can give our conſent for reaſons forementioned. To the teſtimonies by us recited in proof of two onely Orders, Your Majeſty anſwers firſt, that the promiſcuous uſe of the names of Biſhops and Preſbyters, is imported, That which your Majeſty not long ago called *our old fallacy*, is now your anſwer onely with this difference: We under promiſcuous names hold the ſame office: your Majeſty under promiſcuous names ſuppoſes two, which if as it is often aſſerted, was but once proved, we ſhould take it for a determinate of this controverſie. Secondly, that they relate to a "School-point, or a nicety, *Utrum Epiſcopatus ſit ordo* "*vel gradus*, both ſides of the queſtioniſts or diſputants "in the mean time *acknowledging* the right of Church-"government in the Biſhops alone; It is confeſt by us, that that queſtion as it is ſtated by Popiſh Authors, is a *curious nicety*, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the ſame Officers may differ from and excel others of the ſame Order in gifts or qualifications: Yet the Office it ſelf is one and the ſame, without difference or degrees, as one Apoſtle or Preſbyter, is not ſuperiour to another in degree of Office; they that are of the ſame order are of the ſame degree, in reſpect of Office, as having power and authority to the ſame Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow, any ſuperiority of one over another of the ſame Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders onely in the Church, is a demonſtration, that Preſbyters and Biſhops are the ſame. In which point the Scripture will counter-ballance the teſti-

teſtimonies of thoſe that aſſert three degrees or orders, though ten for one. But for eaſing of your Majeſty of the trouble of producing teſtimonies againſt thoſe cited by us, We make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both ſides may be diſcharged out of the field, and the point diſputed by Dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum.*

Having paſſed through the argumentative parts of your Majeſties Reply, wherein we ſhould account it a great happineſſe, to have given your Majeſty any ſatisfaction, in order whereunto you pleaſed to honour us with this imployment, We ſhall contract our ſelves in the remainder, craving your Majeſties pardon, if you ſhall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royal Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamental acceſſions granted to the perſon, do not make any ſubſtantial change in the *Office*; the real difference between that Epiſcopal Government, which firſt obtained in the Church, and the preſent Hierarchy, conſiſts *in ipſo regimine & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonſtrated in particulars, until it be agreed on both ſides, what that Epiſcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether theſe three fore-mentioned eſſentials of Epiſcopal Government, were the ſame in both: For the power under Chriſtian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the ſame, though the exerciſe be not. And we humbly receive your Majeſties pious advertiſement, (not unlike that of *Conſtantines*) ſtiring us up as men unbyaſſed with private intereſts, to ſtudy the neereſt accommodation and beſt reſemblance to the Apoſtolical and primitive times. But for your Majeſties *Salvo* to the Biſhops ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, & that diſtinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Biſhop, and the Concomitant in the Preſbytery,

which you seem to found upon these two Texts, 2 *Tim.*1.6. 1 *Tim.*4.14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*, and other defenders of Episcopacy, in explication of that Canon of the fourth *Councel* of *Carthage*, which enjoyns the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands, We shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see, but that this *proviso* of your Majesty, renders our accommodation to the Apostolical and Primitive times (whereunto You did exhort us) unfeisable. We notwithstanding, do fully professe our acknowledgement of *subordination* of the *outward exercise* of *Jurisdiction*, to the Soveraign *power*, and our accomptableness to the Laws of the Land. As for your Majesties *three questions* of great importance, Whether there be a certain form of government left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; Whether it binde perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; Whether that certain form of Government, be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some other, differing from them both: The whole Volume of Ecclesiastical Policy, is contained in them, and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time; nor will take offence at us, if we hold onely to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly professe our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions, within our proper *cognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condescention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of stile, and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty, we render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abili-

may

may ever bee imployed in a ſubject worthy of it. That your Majeſty would pleaſe to conſider, that in this point under debate, *ſucceſſion* is not the beſt *clew*, and moſt *certain* and ready way to finde out the *Original*; for to go that way, is to go the furtheſt way about, yea, *to go backward*; and when you are at the *ſpring*, *viz.* the *Scripture* it ſelf, you go to the *Rivers end*, that you may ſeek the *ſpring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, by the *right hand* of his Counſel, and ſhew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of ſetling the Common wealth of Jeſus Chriſt, which is the Church; ſo as all the members thereof, may be under you in all godlineſſe, peace and Honeſty.

## His MAJESTIES finall Anſwer concerning Epiſcopacy, *Novemb.* 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to his Majeſties ſecond paper, of *Octob.* 6. in yours of *Octob.* 17. in order to the further ſatisfaction of his conſcience in the point of Epiſcopacy, His Majeſty heard, when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath ſince (ſo far as his leiſure would permit) taken the ſame into his private and ſerious Conſideration; Wherein his Majeſty not only acknowledgeth your great pains, and endeavours to

inform

inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but he taketh special notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withal, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time then his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this Nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutual returns of long answers, and Replyes, to have rather multiplyed disputes by starting new questions, then informing the conscience by removing *former scruples*.

1. *Reply. Sect.* 1. 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper.* It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the several points in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (*Sect.* 7.) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withal evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiastical sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more then to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; *the conclusion* seemeth natural and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopal is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. *Reply. Sect.* 3. 5. *As to the Bishops Challenge.* First, when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and confounded out the Episcopal Office, one part the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you

upon

upon the ſame again afterwards (*Sect.6.*) whereas his Majeſties meaning was, and by his words appeareth ſo to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*That of governing Churches*) to the Biſhop alone.

Secondly, you infer from his Majeſties words, 'That 'the Biſhops challenge appears to be grown to more 'then was formerly pretended to. Which inference 'his Majeſties words by you truly cited, if rightly un-'derſtood will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exerciſed by the Apoſtles, and others; his Majeſty ſaid but this onely, 'That the Biſhops challenge no more, or o-'ther power to belong unto them, in reſpect of their 'Epiſcopal Office, then what properly falleth under 'one of theſe three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not ſo much, might ſafely ſay, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good; For he that ſaith they challenge no more, doth not neceſſarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely ſpiritual, his Majeſty conceiveth the Biſhops challenge to have been much-what the ſame in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is moſt inſiſted on, as the moſt conſtant and moſt evident difference between Biſhops & Preſbyters, eſpecially after the times of *Conſtantine*, which his Majeſty by your relating to *Chyſoſtome* and *Hierome* taketh to be the ſame you call the times of *Grown Epiſcopacy*. But his Majeſty ſeeth no neceſſity, that the Biſhops challenge to the power of Juriſdiction ſhould be at all times as large as the exerciſe thereof appeareth at ſome times to have been; the exerciſe thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majeſty doth not believe that the Biſhops under Chriſtian Princes do challenge ſuch an amplitude of juriſdiction to belong

unto them in respect of their Episcopal Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons, or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiastical Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining Witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords Supper, enjoyning pennances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civil power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their gifts, and Enablements only; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath in expresse words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majeſty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reaſon of the different acception of it ſubject to miſconſtruction) and the diſpute whether by Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Nevertheleſſe, although his Majeſty ſees no cauſe to diſlike their opinion, who derive the Epiſcopal power originally from Chriſt himſelf, without whoſe warrant the Apoſtles would not either have exerciſed it themſelves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is ſo clear, and evident, and the warrant from him expreſt but in general terms (As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you, and the like) His Majeſty choſe rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practiſe, as the more evidential way, then upon the warrant, which by reaſon of the generality of expreſſion would bear more diſpute.

3. *Reply*, Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Epiſcopas*. Firſt, whereas you except againſt it, for that it is competent to Archiepiſcopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Epiſcopal, his Majeſty thinketh you might have excepted more juſtly againſt it if it had been otherwiſe.

Secondly his Majeſty believeth, that even in the perſons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, *viz.* that they had each their ſeveral peculiar charges, and that within their ſeveral precincts, they had authority over Preſbyters as well as others.

Neither thirdly, doth his Majeſty think it needful that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture ſhould any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter, to give ſuch a definition of an Apoſtle, or a Prophet, or an Evangeliſt, or a Preſbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almoſt of any thing, as that the parts thereof ſhould be found in any place of Scripture put together.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work meerly, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a general or common Work: But judgeth withal it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

4 *Reply*, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit.* 1. *Acts* 20. 2 *Pet.* 5. First, when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it gratis, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too, more wayes then one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although 'his Majesty be not sure that the proof will reach so far 'in each of those places, w^th words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in Disputations, *Dato, non concesso*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times 'of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides,

sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office & Work in those places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz*. When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν & ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the circumstances of the Text, and otherwise adding withall, that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alledged therein. Hereunto his Majesty saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper, for any great difficulty he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjectural Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate, to wit the satisfaction of his judgement and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* & in S. *Peter* of Bishops properly so called, & in the restrained Ecclesiastical sense, rather then of ordinary

ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applyed to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expressly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more then that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premisses in your paper there layed together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved; That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point; and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*, Wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those Offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work, and duty of a Bishop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopal Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge; and that the same

ſame was after by Eccleſiaſtical uſage appropriated to Biſhops you deny not: But the diſtinction of *Epiſcopus gregis, & Epiſcopus paſtorum*, you do not allow. If you diſallow it for the unfitneſſe of the word as may ſeem by that paſſage, where you ſay, 'That his Ma'jeſty hath ſaid, that *Epiſcopus* ſignifieth a Keeper of 'Shepherds; His Majeſty thinketh you might very well have ſpared that exception. For if there be a perſon that hath the overſight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving ſuch a perſon the ſtile of *Epiſcopus paſtorum*, then there is in uſing of the word ἀρχιποίμενες, or in calling *Doeg* the Maſter of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it ſelf, it cannot be denied, but that the Apoſtles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the preſent buſineſſe it matters not) had the overſight and authority over many Paſtors, and were therefore truly and really *Epiſcopi paſtorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Epiſcopus* and *Preſbyter* to theſe diſtinct Offices, conſidering that it was done ſo early, and received ſo univerſally in the Church; as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apoſtles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majeſty hath great reaſon to believe, that it was done by conſent of the primitive Biſhops, meerly in honour of the Apoſtles, out of their reſpect and reverence to whoſe perſons, and perſonal prerogatives, they choſe to call themſelves Biſhops, rather then Apoſtles in common uſage, although they made no ſcruple to maintain their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, when they ſpake of things proper to the Epiſcopal Function, nor to uſe upon occaſion the terms of Apoſtle and Apoſtolical in that ſenſe, the truth of all which is to be ſeen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The teſtimonies of ſo many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-original of Biſhops, his Majeſty conceiveth to be of

so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety of moderate & even passions, of *Orthodox* belief, sundry of them unInterested in the quarrel, and some of them of later times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions.) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is διὰ τάξιν θεῖαν, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Insomuch they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as led thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει, Gods word teacheth it, *apertis Scripturæ testimoniis*, it appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*. From this place we learn, and the like); which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary for number, and every other respect equal thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much leaned thereby: inasmuch as one witnesse for the Affirmative ought to be of more value then ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interested, then of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of trial, because matter of right is proper triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be so in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact & not of right; For what right soever the *Bishops* have or pretend to have, must be derived

from the fact of *Chriſt* or his *Apoſtles*. Which matter of fact, if it be not in the moſt plain *hiſtorical manner* that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by tropical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the moſt rational & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourſe to the Judgement, but eſpecially to the practiſe of the neareſt and ſubſequent times; according to the received Maximes, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Conſuetudo optima interpres Legum*. Now he that ſhall finde by all the Hiſtorical *Records* extant, that the *diſtinction of Biſhops* from, & the *ſuperiority over Presbyters* was ſo univerſally, and ſpeedily ſpread over the face of the *whole World*, and their *government* ſubmitted unto ſo *unanimouſly* by the *Presbyters*, that there never was any *conſiderable oppoſition* made there-againſt before *Aerius* (and that cryed down as an *Hereſie*) nor ſince till this laſt Age: & ſhall duly conſider withall, that if *Epiſcopal government* had not had an *indubitable inſtitution* from the *authority* of *Chriſt* & his *Apoſtles*, or if any *other form of Church government* could have pretended to ſuch *inſtitution*, had bin the moſt impoſſible thing in the world, when there neither was *any outward certain power to inforce it*, nor could be any *general Councel to eſtabliſh it*, to have introduced ſuch a *form of government* ſo ſuddenly & quietly, into all *Chriſtian Churches*, & not the ſpirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that appeareth for above 300 years, to have bin provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to ſtand up in the juſt defence of their own & the Churches liberty againſt ſuch an uſurpation. His *Majeſty* believeth that whoſoever ſhal conſider the *premiſes*, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will ſee reaſon enough to conclude the ſame to have *ſomething* of *divine inſtitution* in it, notwithſtanding all the evaſions and objections that the ſubtilty of man can deviſe to perſwade the contrary. And therefore his Majeſty thinketh it fit, plainly to tell you, that ſuch

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Conjectural Interpretations of Scripture, as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgement wherein he hath been setled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgement of Antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more then meer conjectural Inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allegation in the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply*, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession. To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, His Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mission, (*Matth.* 28. 19, 20.) whereby they were further warranted to their Office and Work, were yet to wait for that promised and ointing (*Luke* 24.49. *Acts* 1.4.) the special effect whereof was the endning them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better & more effectual performing of that their work and Office. Nor was it his Majesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the Apostolical Office to those gifts onely. (for his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said) but onely to instance in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no Successors. But his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolical Office (setting aside all and onely what was personal and extraordinary in them) continued

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in the work of teaching and governing, which being both of neceſſary and perpetual uſe in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was alſo to continue, and conſequently the perſons of the Apoſtles being mortal, to be tranſmitted and derived to others in ſucceſſion: And that the Ordinary Succeſſors of the Apoſtles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Biſhops, the Preſbyters ſucceeding them alſo, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching onely, and that mediately and ſubordinately to the Biſhops, by whom they are to be ordained, and authoriſed thereunto, which his Majeſty taketh not to be, as you call it, a diſſolving of the Apoſtolical Office.

Now the ground of what his Majeſty hath ſaid concerning the manner of Succeſſion to the Apoſtles, that it may appear not to have been ſaid *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, or by others at their appointment, are of three ſorts, ſome acts of power meerly extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of neceſſary and perpetual uſe: Otherſome laſtly, and thoſe not a few, Occaſional and Prudential, fitted to the preſent condition of the Church in ſeveral times: To the Apoſtles in matters of the firſt ſort none pretends ſucceſſion, nor are either the Examples of what the Apoſtles themſelves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they ſhould do in matters of the third ſort, to be drawn into conſequence ſo far as to be made neceſſary Rules, binding all ſucceeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetual obſervation. So that there remain the things of the middle ſort onely, which we may call Subſtantials, into which the Apoſtles are to have ordinary and ſtanding ſucceſſors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Subſtantials and Prudentials may be known, and diſtinguiſhed each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures

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do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more general Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administring the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages & Times: and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of *Christ*: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from Blood, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church Assemblies, 1 *Cor.*14. For making provisions for the poor, 1 *Cor.*16 1. For the choice and maintenance of Widows, 1 *Tim.*5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5.14. and other like, were but occasional, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practise of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolical Office, we find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason, and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours. And the difference of Bishops

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and Presbyters to the purpoſes aforeſaid, having been by continual uſage received, and preſerved in the Chriſtian Church, down from the Apoſtles to the preſent times; his Majeſty conceiveth the ſucceſſion of Biſhops to the Apoſtles, into ſo much of their Office as was ordinary, and perpetual; and ſuch a diſtinction of Biſhops and Preſbyters as his Majeſty hath formerly expreſſed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to ſuch as are willing to make uſe of their Reaſon alſo, which in interpreting Scripture upon all other occaſions they are enforced to do) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further anſwer; onely that diſtinction of Eminently & Formally, becauſe you illuſtrate it by inſtancing in Himſelf, his Majeſty could not but take notice of, which he either underſtandeth not, or thinketh your illuſtration thereof not to be very appoſite: For Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonſtrate the ſame as effects do their cauſes. The Apoſtles therefore acting in the ordinary exerciſe of Church Government, did act not Eminently onely, but Formally alſo, as Biſhops rather then Apoſtles.

*As concerning Timothy and Titus.*

7. *Reply.* Sect. 10. 15. Firſt, whether there were Evangeliſts or no, his Majeſty never meant to diſpute. Onely, becauſe you often call for Scripture proof, his Majeſty thought fit to admoniſh you, that in your Anſwer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangeliſts, and that Evangeliſts were ſuch Officers as you deſcribed) Neither of which if it ſhould be denyed, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to atteſt it, as in your Reply you have now done Mr. *Hookers*; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both ſufficint to convice him that is of a contrary minde.

Secondly

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which, his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the Church government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirm) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq;* Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the special sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not onely affirmeth, That *S. Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, not as Evangelists, but as Church governours; but saith further, That the Epistles written to them both do evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knows not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information it is) That *if whatsoever is alledged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, That they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid.* His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground, especially the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church).

Church.) And ſecondly, if the contrary be proved by *Gilleſpy*, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Biſhops, *viz.* of governing the Churches (ſingle perſons in ordinary Office) then either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majeſty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the ſenſe of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* '*The Scriptures never call them Biſhops, but the Fathers do*: whereas if you had followed his ſenſe in that paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture deſcribeth them as Biſhops, and the Fathers call them ſo. For that of yours, '*The Scripture cals Timothy an Evangeliſt; ſome* '*of late have refuted it, and rejected it with ſcorn*: You ſhould have ſaid rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangeliſts; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangeliſts, or extraordinary Officers, is by ſundry late Writers (the evaſion it ſelf having been out of late miſted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, '*The Scripture relates their* '*motion from Church to Church, but ſome affirm them to* '*be fixed at Epheſus and in Crete*: It ſhould have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but that they might afterwards be fixed at *Epheſus* and in *Crete*: Neither doth their being Biſhops at *Epheſus* and *Crete* hinder, but they might afterwards, for propogation of the Goſpel, be by the Apoſtles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, '*The Scripture makes diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but ſome ſay that Timothy and Titus were both*: It ſhould have been, The Scripture maketh no ſuch diſtinction of Evangeliſts and Paſtors, but that the ſame perſons might not only ſucceſſively be both, but even at the ſame time alſo be called by both Names.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much; Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in Debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historicâ*, and to describe the persons of such as are Registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expresly stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandrinæ Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly & exactly throughout the whole Book, that nothing can be more clear, then that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, then in the ordinary Ecclesiastical sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you alledge out of him, by custom in the judgement of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unlesse you will have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal Superiority, are so clear and frequent in his writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole Businesse: As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long Discourse concerning the several stations and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13.14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete*

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(15.) His Majeſty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in reſpect of what he hath ſaid already) ſo to do. It is ſufficient to make his Majeſty at leaſt ſuſpend his aſſent to your conjectures and inferences: Firſt, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences, as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Poſtea & tandem*, were by him conſtituted Biſhops of *Epheſus* & *Crete*. Secondly, that ſuppoſing they were, after the times of the ſeveral Epiſtles written to them, ſent by the Apoſtles to other places, or did accompany them in ſome of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Biſhops of thoſe Churches, or that the Government of thoſe Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it bee ſuppoſed withal (which is moſt reaſonable) that their abſence was commanded by the Apoſtle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you preſſe again of 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and *Titus* 1. 5. weigh ſo little to the purpoſe intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you ſay onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they ſhould weigh ſo much in his, as to need any further Anſwer; ſave onely, that his Majeſty knoweth not what great need or uſe there ſhould be of leaving *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with ſuch particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not ſent thither as Biſhops? For either there were Colledges of Presbyters in thoſe places before their coming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that ſuch Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Biſhop; then was there little need of ſending *Timothy* and *Titus* ſo ſolemnly thither about the work; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power

of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to* Timothy, *out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word προφητείας to the remoter Substantive Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by προφητείας there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

*As to the Angels of the Churches.*

*3. Reply.* Rev. 1. 16. 17. HIs Majesties purpose of naming these Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted

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*Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Epheſus*, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in thoſe Countries, and Conſuls in *Rome* in thoſe times, ſo (as you might well foreſee would be anſwered) the diſcrediting of the Catalogues of Biſhops, in reſpect of ſome uncertainties (although his Majeſty doubteth not, but many of the differences you inſtance in, may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it ſelf.

That which you ſay in anſwer hereunto, That the Eccleſiaſtical Writers called them Biſhops, in complyance to the Language of their own times, after the names of Preſbyters and Biſhops were diſtinguiſhed, but that they were not indeed Biſhops in the proper ſenſe now in Queſtion: his Majeſty who believeth the diſtinction of thoſe names, to have begun preſently after the Apoſtles times (if not rather whileſt ſome of them were living) doth conſequently believe, that as they were called, ſo they were indeed Biſhops in that proper ſenſe. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epiſtles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Biſhop and a meer Preſbyter: If *Hierom* onely, and ſome a little ancienter then he, had applyed the name Biſhop to perſons that lived ſome Ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to ſuch a complyance as you ſpeak of; but that they received both the name and the truth of their relations from unqueſtionable Teſtimonies and Records, his Majeſty thinketh it may be made good by many inſtances: For example, to inſtance in one onely, *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angel of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epiſtle to him, and ſends ſalutation to him in another as Biſhop of *Smyrna*; Many years after, *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whoſe writings were never yet called in queſtion by any) not onely affirms him to have been conſti-

constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles; but saith, *That he himself when he was a Boy, had seen him a very old Man*; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient Writer, affirmeth, *That he was Bishop of Smyrna, there placed by S. John.* After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History, not onely historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops; but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certain Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, His Majesty saith; First, That though it be not reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be so made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise; yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the main Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himself to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lessened the reputation of their own Learning, then the Authority of those Epistles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

*The Apostles*, you say, *did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particular places are reported in the Catalogues to have been*

*been Successours to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues*: To this his Majesty saith, That the Apostles were formerly Bishops by vertue of their Mission from *Christ*, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutual consent, make choice of their several quarters wherein to exercise that Function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by consent went the one to the Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles: But such apportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unless any of them by such Argument did fixedly reside in some City; of which there is not in the History of the Church any clear unquestionable Example: If *James* the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of *Jerusalem*) were not one of the Twelve Apostles, as the more general opinion is that he was not; yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their *Sees*, and the memory of so great Benefactors, enter the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such of the Apostles as had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them; yet doth not the true Title of being Successours to the Apostles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those places, more then to other Bishops, but all Bishops are equally Successours to the Apostles in two other respects; The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continual Line of Succession from the Apostles: The other, for that they succeed into the same Apostolical power and Function, which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had.

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Your motion to reduce this whole Dispute, to Scripture alone, were the more reasonable, if the matter in question were properly a point of Faith: And yet even in points of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the uniform judgement of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely, and by parts; so that the understanding thereof dependeth meerly upon conjectural Interpretations, and uncertain probabilities, nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary, what prudential, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgement and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryal.

*As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.*

12. *Reply*, 29, &c. HIs Majesty resteth very much unsatisfied, That you have *now again wholly* declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this onely pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiastical Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemical Discourse concerning those Questions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your judgement was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, then which nothing could have more conduced to the enforming of his judgement, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth

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part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelihood better satisfaction to his judgement then hee yet findeth, or can hope to finde from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, until one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certain form of Church government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal, but some other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in the judgement of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolition of that Government in the Church, which he found here setled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, until this last Age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of *England*, as well by their personal subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himself in his judgement and conscience, hath for these many years been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolical Institution and practice: Truly, his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great shiness and unwillingness to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a final conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this paper) he must plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the Questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputa-

tion of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should work much upon his judgement, whilest you are fearful to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer in the close of your paper, and thinketh you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the setling of Truth, and a happy peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

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## His MAJESTIES Quære concerning *EASTER*, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at *Holmby*, April 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question, *Why the new Reformers discharges the keeping of EASTER.*

The Reason for this *Quære* is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday and refuse the weekly Sunday; when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Tell when you know My minde.

*C. Rex.*

Diverse

# Diverſe of His MAJESTIES Prayers; Whereof the three laſt, uſed by Him in the time of His Reſtraint, were delivered to the Biſhop of *London* at His Death; From whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

I.

*A Prayer uſed by His Majeſty, at his entrance in ſtate into the Cathedral Church of* Exeter, *after he had defeated the Earl of* Eſſex *his Forces in* Cornwal.

O Moſt glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, I here humbly adore Thy moſt Sacred Majeſty; and I bleſſe and magnifie thy Name, for that thou haſt been pleaſed ſo often, and ſo ſtrangely to deliver Me from the ſtrivings of My people. Father forgive them who have thus riſen up againſt Me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly eſtabliſhed in the Throne Thou haſt placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

2.

*A prayer drawn by His Majesties special direction and Dictates, for a blessing on the Treaty at* Vxbridge.

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech Thee, to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins, cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindely miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

*A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at* Newport *in the Isle of Wight.*

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by thy providence, and the onely visible remedy left for the establishment of

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an happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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4.

*A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c.*

ALmighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternal God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: But

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with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extreami to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou merciful unto Me; and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption. And as thou doest adde days to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My days, that when *I* have past this mortal life, *I* may be partaker of Thy everlasting kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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## *A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and most merciful Father, as it is only Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge w^ch Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience:

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Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant, therefore, merciful Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance & amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt clear the way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Conſtancy againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit to chuſe what is beſt for Thy Church and people, which Thou haſt committed to My charge. Grant this, O moſt merciful Father, for Thy Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our onely Saviour. Amen.

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## *A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.*

O Moſt merciful Father, though My ſins are ſo many & grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for ſuccor, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſſions, to deſpair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wilt not only pardon all My ſins, but alſo free Me out of the hands, & protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath againſt My hainous offences, will not otherways be ſatisfied, then by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, thy wil be done: yet, with humble importunity, I do & ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through My weakneſs or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the

faculties

faculties of My Mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial; that ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee; but likewiſe be a furtherance to My ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. Amen.

# Several things relating to His MAJESTIES *Death.*

## I.

*Three Queries propounded by His* Majeſty, *when the Armies Remonſtrance was read unto Him, at* Newport, *concerning the intended tryal of His* Majeſty.

1. WHether this Remonſtrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had conſented to what they deſired, he ſhould be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety.

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been ſpilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet abſolutely concluded or binding) could be urged ſo far, as to be made uſe of by way of evidence againſt him, or any of his Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath uſed in a free and perſonal Treaty, to leſſen or extenuate, and avoid the exactneſſe of any of the Conditions, though

in manner and form onely, might be charged againſt him as an act of Obſtinacy, or wilful perſiſtance in what is alledged againſt him, in that he goes on in a deſtructive courſe of enmity againſt the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conſcience was not ſatisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propoſitions.

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all perſons charged to offend againſt the Law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the perſon queſtioned is without a Peer, and if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power ſhall judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdom.

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2.

*His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Injuſtice, which He intended to have delivered in writing, on Monday,* Jan. 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My proteſtations not onely againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more then to refer My ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My people, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate

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the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when I came hither, *I* expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning theſe grounds which hinder Mee to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet *I* will ſhew you the Reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meaneſt Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without ſhewing a reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon My Subjects.

* *Hereabout I was ſtopt, & not ſuffered to ſpeak any more concerning Reaſons.*

* There is no proceeding juſt againſt any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove: and for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That *where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may ſay unto him, what doeſt thou? Eccleſ.*8.4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no leſſe confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye againſt the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old, or new: if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) *I* leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-Houſe

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to any that have heard ſpeak of the Lawes of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never aſked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Ploughman, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you prerend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING, but alſo for the true liberty of *all* My Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Lawes, ſuch a Government as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publick Faith that (*I* believe) ever was heard of, with which *I* am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pretended crimes laid againſt Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *NEWPORT*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which *I* account I am againſt My will brought hither, where ſince I am come, *I* cannot but to My power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own juſt right; then for any thing I can ſee the higher Houſe is totally excluded. And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too

known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for Me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in My thoughts, and what hopes of ſettlement is there ſo long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years, (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons, why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My people; I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince My judgement, ſhewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to ſpeak in* Weſtminſter-Hall *on Monday*, 22 January; *but againſt Reaſon was hindred.*

*Io*

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The Names of thoſe perſons, who by a pretended Commiſſion, from a few of the late Houſe of Commons (acted therein by the Counſel of War) were appointed to judge their *Liege Lord* and *Soveraign* the KING.

SErjeant *John Bradſhaw*, Preſident.
*Tho* Lord *Fairfax*, General
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel.*
Com. General *Ireton.*
Major General *Skippon.*
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller.*
Col. *Valentine Walton.*
Col. *Thomas Harriſon,*
Col. *Edward Whalley,*
Col. *Thomas Pride.*
Col. *Iſaac Ewer,*
Col. *Richard Ingolsby,*
Sir *Henry Mildmay,*
Sir *Thomas Honywood,*
*Thomas* Lord *Grey,*
*Philip* Lord *Liſle,*
*William* Lord *Munſon,*
Sir *John Danvers,*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer,*
Sir *John Bowcher,*
Sir *James Harrington,*
Sir *William Brereton,*
*Robert Wallop* Eſq;
*William Henningham* Eſq;
*Iſaac Pennington* Alderm.
*Thomas Atkins* Alderman
Col. *Rouland Wilſon,*
Sir *Peter Wentworth,*
Col. *Henry Martin,*
Col. *William Purefoy,*
Col. *Godfrey Boſvil,*
*John Trencherd* Eſq;
Col. *Harbottle Morley,*
Col. *John Berkeſtead,*
Col. *Matthew Tomblinſon,*
*John Blackeſtone* Eſq;
*Gilbert Millington* Eſq;
Sir *William Conſtable,*
Col. *Edward Ludlow,*
Col. *John Lambert,*
Col. *John Hutchingſon,*
Sir *Arthur Haſlerige,*
Sir *Michael Liveſley,*
*Richard Saloway* Eſq;
Col. *Robert Titchburn,*
Col. *Owen Roe,*
Col. *Robert Manwaring,*
Col. *Robert Lilburne,*
Col. *Adrian Scroope,*
Col. *Richard Deane,*
Col. *John Okey,*
Col. *Robert Overton,*
Col. *John Harriſon,*
Col. *John Diſborough,*
Col. *William Goffe,*
Col. *Robert Duckenfield,*
*Cornelius Holland* Eſq;

*John Carne* Eſq;
Sir *William Armine*,
*John Jones* Eſq;
*Miles Corbet* Eſq;
*Francis Allen* Eſq;
*Thomas Liſter* Eſq;
*Ben. Weſton* Eſq;
*Peregrin Pelham* Eſq;
*John Gourdoun* Eſq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp*,
*John Nut* Eſq;
*Thomas Challoner* Eſq;
Col. *Alg. Sidney*,
*John Anlaby* Eſq;
Col. *John Moore*,
*Richard Darley* Eſq;
*Willam Say* Eſq;
*John Aldred* Eſq;
*John Fagge* Eſq;
*Jones Nelthrop* Eſq;
Sir *Willirm Roberts*,
Col. *Francis Laſſels*,
Col. *Alex. Kirby*
*Henry Smith* Eſq;
*Edmond Wilde* Eſq;
*James Chaloner* Eſq;
*Joſias Barnes* Eſq;
*Dennis Bond* Eſq;
*Humphry Edwards* Eſq;
*Gregory Clement* Eſq,
*John Fray* Eſq,
*Thomas Wogan* Eſq,
Sir *Gregory Norton*,
Col. *Edmond Harvey*,
*John Dove* Eſq;
Col. *John Ve[illegible]*,

*John Foulkes* Alderman,
*Thomas Scot* Alderman,
*Tho. Andrews* Alderman,
*William Cawley* Eſq;
*Abraham Burrel* Eſq;
Col. *Anthony Stapley*,
*Roger Gratwick* Eſq;
*John Downes* Eſq,
Col. *Thomas Horton*,
Col. *Tho. Hammond*,
Col. *George Fenwick*,
Serjeant *Robert Nichols*,
*Robert Reynolds* Eſq;
*John Liſle* Eſq,
*Nicholas Love*, Eſq,
*Vincent Potter*,
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*,
*John Weaver* Eſq,
*Roger Hill* Eſq,
*John Lenthal* Eſq,
Sir *Edward Baynton*,
*Joh. Corbet* Eſq,
*Thomas Blunt* Eſq,
*Thomas Boone* Eſq,
*Aug. Garland* Eſq,
*Aug. Skinner* Eſq,
*John Dickſwell* Eſq,
Col. *George Fleetwood*,
*Symon Maine* Eſq,
Col. *Iames Temple*,
Col. *Peter Temple*,
*Daniel Blagrave* Eſq,
Sir *Peter Temple*,
Col. *Thomas White*,
*John Browne* Eſq;
*John Lowrey* Eſq,

In all 300.

4.

The Names of thoſe perſons, who preſumed at ſeveral times actually to ſit as Judges upon their Soveraign Lord, whereof about 70 did paſſe ſentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councel and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *John Bradſhaw*, Preſident.
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel.*
Com. General *Ireton.*
Major General *Skippon.*
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller.*
Col. *Thomas Harriſon*,
Col. *Edward Whalley*,
Col. *Thomas Pride.*
Col. *Iſaac Ewer*,
Col. *Richard Ingolsby*,
Sir *Henry Mildmay*,
*Thomas* Lord *Grey*,
*Philip* Lord *Liſle*,
*William* Lord *Munſon*,
Sir *John Danvers*,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*,
Sir *John Bowcher*,
Sir *Iames Harrington*,
Sir *William Brereton*,
*William Henningham* Eſq;
*Iſaac Pennington* Alderm.
*Thomas Atkins* Alderman,
*Gouland Wilſon* Alderman,
Sir *Peter Wentworth*,
Col. *Henry Martin*,
Col. *William Purefoy*,
Col. *Godfrey Boſvil*,
Col. *John Berkeſtead*,

Sir *William Conſtable*,
Col. *Edward Ludlow*,
*Col. John Hutchingſon*,
Col. *Robert Titchburn*,
Col. *Owen Roe*,
Col. *Adrian Scroope*,
*Col. John Okey*,
*Col. John Harriſon*,
*Col. John Desborough*,
*Cornelius Holland* Eſq;
*Miles Corbet* Eſq;
*Francis Allen* Eſq;
*Peregrine Pellham* Eſq;
*John Gourdon* Eſq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp*,
*Thomas Challoner* Eſq;
Col. *John Moore*,
*John Alured* Eſq;
Col. *Francis Taſſells*,
*Henry Smith* Eſq;
*James Chaloner* Eſq;
*Dennis Bond* Eſq;
*Humphrey Edwards* Eſq;
*Gregory Clement* Eſq;
*John Fry* Eſq;
*Thomas Wogan* Eſq;
Sir *Gregory Norton*,
Col. *Edmond Harvey*,
*John Dove* Eſq;

Col. *Iohn Venne*,
*Iohn Foulkes* Alderman,
*Thomas Scot* Alderman,
*Tho. Andrews* Alderman,
*William Cawley* Eſq;
*Anthony Stapeley*,
*Iohn Liſle* Eſq;
*Iohn Corbet* Eſq;
*Thomas Blunt* Eſq;
*Thomas Boone* Eſq;
Col. *George Fleetwood*,
Col. *Iames Temple*,
Col. *Thomas Waite*,
*Iohn Browne* Eſq;
*William Say* Eſq;
Col. *Matthew Tomlinſon*,
*Iohn Blackeſton*,
*Gilbert Millington*,
*Abraham Barrel*,
Col. *Iohn Downes*,
Mr. *Norton*,
L. Gen. *Tho. Hammond*,
*Nicholas Love*,
*Vincent Potter*,
*Auguſtin Garland*,
Sir *Miles Liveſey*,
*Iohn Dexwel*
*Simon Mayre*,
*Daniel Blagrave*,
Col. *Robert Lilburne*,
Col. *Richard Deane*,
Col. *Hewſon*,
L. Col. *William Goffe*,
Mr. *Carew*,
*Jo. Joanes*.

92 In all.

Councellours aſſiſtant to draw up the Charge a-gainſt the KING.

Dr. *Iſaac Doriſlaus*, Mr. *Aske*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Steele*, (who by reaſon of ſickneſſe was abſent.)

Serjeant *Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms, M. *Phelps* Clerk.

Meſſengers and Door-keepers.

Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radly*, Mr *Paine*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Hull*. And Mr. *King* Cryer.

5.

*A true Relation of the* Kings *Speech to the Lady* Elizabeth *and the Duke of* Glocester, *the Day before His Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His Blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you I forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and powring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon His knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

## *Another relation from the Lady* Elizabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to Me the 29 of Jan. 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him, He told Me, He was glad *I* was com[e] and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſo[me] that He had to ſay to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; becauſe He feared their cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment My ſelf for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid Me reade Biſhop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Biſhop *Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Bruthers and Siſters, to forgive them. Be bid me tell My Mother, That His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withal He commanded me and my Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me ſend His bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after He had given me his bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo, to their own Souls: and deſired Me not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that we ſhould be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at preſent *I* cannot remember. *Elizabeth.*

*Another*

7.

*Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing unfit for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and He would provide for him.

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8.

*A Copy of a Letter ſent from the* Prince *to the* King, *dated from the* Hague. *Jan.* 23. 1648.

*SIR*,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have ſent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majeſty, and to bring Me an account of it: that *I* may withall aſſure Your Majeſty, I do not onely pray for Your Majeſty according to My Duty; but ſhall alwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in My power, to deſerve that bleſſing which *I* now humbly beg of Your Majeſty upon

*SIR, Your* Majeſties *moſt humble and moſt obedient Son and Servant,*

Hague, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

CHARLS.

The Superſcription was thus, *For the King.*

# His MAJESTIES laſt Speech on the Scaffold at His Martyrdom, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

Becauſe we have no other Relation of what His Majeſty then ſpake, ſave what His Enemies have ſet forth, nor had his Majeſty any Copy (being ſurprized, and haſtned by thoſe that thirſted after His blood,) ſave onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Biſhop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader muſt be content with this Copy which they have publiſhed (ſome few words being altered to make the ſence perfect, which either wilfully, or by miſtake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horſe, ſo that they could not come near to hear Him, omitted what he had purpoſed to have ſpoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning Himſelf to the Souldiers and Officers (the Inſtruments of the Regicide) ſpake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the guilt, as well as to the puniſhment: But I think it is My duty to God firſt, and then

then to My Country, to clear My self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needful for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Justice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I will onely say this, That an unjust sentence that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust Sentence upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man. * *E. of Straff.*

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian: I hope there is a good man that will bear Me witnesse, That I have forgiven all the World; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But

* *Pointing to D. Juxon, B. of London*

But this is not all, My charity muſt go farther, *I* wiſh that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular; *I* pray God with S. *Stephen*, *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp; the peace of the Kingdom. So (Sirs) I do wiſh with all My Soul. (I ſee there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the peace of the Kingdom.

*Turning to ſome that wrote.*

Now (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; firſt you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of *Conqueſt*; certainly this is an ill way, for Conqueſt in My opinion is never *juſt*, except there be a good and a juſt cauſe, either for matter of wrong, or a juſt Title, and then if you go beyond the firſt quarrel that you have, that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at firſt: For if there be onely matter of *Conqueſt*, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pirat ſaid to *Alexander*, that He was the great Robber, himſelf was but a petty Robber; and ſo, Sirs, I do think for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Succeſſor) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order: And to ſet you in a way particularly

now

now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed *I* will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly *I* desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods, may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Soveraigne, are clean different things; and therefore, until you do that, I mean, That you do put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this, that now I am hither come: for if *I* would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the people.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested: Then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience, I pray God, that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

*Bishop*

Biſhop of *London.*

Will your Majeſty (though it be very well known what your Majeſties affections are to Religion, yet becauſe it may be expected, that You ſhould ſay ſomewhat) declare your ſelf for the Worlds ſatisfaction in that point.

*KING.*

I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for [illegible], I had almoſt forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian according to the profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honeſt man, (* *pointing to the Biſhop,*) I think will witneſſe it. Then turning to the Officers He ſaid, Sirs, excuſe Me for this ſame. I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God; I will ſay no more.

Biſhop of *London.*

There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troubleſome; it is a ſhort one: But You may conſider it will ſoon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You ſhall finde a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

*KING.*

I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.

*The Biſhop.*

You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after ſome ſhort and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven; immediately ſtooping down, laid His neck upon the Block. And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King ſaid, Stay for the ſigne.

And

And after a very little pauſe, ſtretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow, ſevered His Head from His Body.

*Sic cecidit* Carolus, *ſic univerſa ſimul*
*Brittania.*

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Lam. 4. 20. *The breath of our noſtrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we ſaid, under his ſhadow we ſhall live among the Heathen.*

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. *The joy of our heart is ceaſed, our dance is turned into mourning.*

*The Crown is fallen from our Head, wo unto us that we have ſinned.*

*For this our heart is faint, for theſe thinge our eyes are dim.*

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The

# The Names of the pretended Major and Aldermen of *London* that perſonally proclaimed the Act for the aboliſhing of Kingly Government.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ald. *Andrews* Mayor, | Alderman *Bateman* |
| Alder. *Pennington*, | Alderman *Atkins*, |
| Alderman *Foulkes* | Alderman *Venne*, |
| Alderman *Kenrick*, | Alderman *Avery*, |
| Alderman *Byde*, | Alderman *Wilſon*, |
| Alderm. *Edmonds*, | Alderman *Dethick*, |
| Alderman *Pack*, | Alderman *Foot*, |

Proclaimed *May* 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latin, by Dr. *Lotius*, to King CHARLS the 2d, in the name of the Consistory of *Hague*, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that *Church*, upon the death of King CHARLS the first, 7. *Calend. Martii*, 1649.

*SERENISSIME REX.*

VIsum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro ac Moderatori, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ TUÆ MAJESTATIS, cujus & nos sensu tacti, adsumus, ut si quod Magnus Paracletus consolationis suggesserit Verbum, MAJESTATIS TUÆ in sinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars solatii, & cum eo Patientiæ petit sæpiùs, cum nimium intenti instrumentis & causis secundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, considerarimus. Nos ii non sumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excusatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris causa est, absit, absit. Testamur enim coram Deo nostro, cui in Spiritu servimus, nos illud *inauditum parricidium*, illam *execrandam laniexam* Sacrosancti & Sancti Capitis & æternum deplorandam *unici* reformatæ Professionis Regis mactationem ex animo *detestari*. Quippe ni; cum *Sacrilegum* hoc *Scelus* directe impugnet Deum *per quem Reges regnant*; ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehensum, ubi quæ CÆSARIS sunt, CÆSARI danda voluit; qui Regum Rex est; imo injuriam faciat summam Rationi, Humanitati & communi subjectorum Societati, & ostendat quid sit esse INDEPENDENTEM.

Quod

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc eſt, adoranda eſſe, & probanda illa in Deo Judicia, quæ ut ut ingrata a nobis ſunt & occulta ſæpe, ſemper tamen juſta. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Deus probos exercet; vultque ut ſui gemant ſub preſſura *Alienigenarum, ANGLOS enim eos non agnoſcimus qui in Legitimũ REGEM ANGLIÆ inſurgunt)* quod tamen, quòd ſolenne ſit, non eſt quod è Scripturis utriuſque Teſtamenti probemus, cum gravis hujus TUÆ MAJESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abunde teſtimonio ſit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Chriſtianis reliqui quam cum Regio vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu feciſti*; reſpicere ad caſtigantem Dei Dextram; Animam poſſidere in patientia; fortì Ultori Cauſam ſuam commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò; pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: ſic preivit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO ſuo* fœlix *Anima* SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAJESTATIS PARENTIS, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reverſi ad Dominum Deum ſerio pœnitentiam agant, apudque eum culpam confeſſi & deprecati, & ad Dominum ſuum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Conſolationem compendium exiſtimamus. Quæ quidem conſolatio tum demum vim exercebit ſuam, cum voluntas noſtra, ſe ſupremæ voluntati ſubjecerit, atque actu ipſo probaverit; nos non fruſtrà, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamaſſe: Fiat voluntas tua.

Commendamus inſuper TUÆ MAJESTATI curam ac defenſionem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Angla Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus conſtare, *qui inter Beatos jam triumphat, in Articulo MORTIS REX PARENTISSIMUS* declaravit; *quod nos certe non abnuimus*: quam Religionem ut ſartam tectam habere velit TUAM MAJESTATEM obnixè obſecramus. Quod ſupereſt, veneramur; venerabimurque

*n u*que ſummum illud Numen, ut TUAM MAJESTATEM Spiritu ſuo in Cœlis induat; ſalutaribus *Conſiliis*, & *Conſiliariis* inſtruat; Patientiam illi largiatur; Sceptrum confirmet; totamque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM *in integrum* reſtituat; & interim conſoletur: Faxit hoc Pater Miſericordiarum & omnis Conſolationis in Chriſto per Spiritum Sanctum. *Amen.*

12.

# The ſame done into Engliſh.

*Moſt gracious King,*

IT hath pleaſed God, the Supream Judge and Moderator of all things, to give a ſore wound to Your MAJESTIES *Moſt Renowned Family*: With the ſenſe whereof we likewiſe being deeply touched, are here preſent, that if the great *Comforter* ſhall miniſter any word of conſolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES boſome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times loſt unto us; when, being too intent upon inſtrumental and ſecond *Cauſes*, we do not conſider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. We are none of thoſe *(Moſt Gracious KING)* who would any way excuſe them, whoſe *Horrible Villany* is the cauſe of ſo deep a ſorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publiſh and declare in the preſence of our GOD, whom we ſerve in ſpirit, that we do *deteſt* from our ſouls, that *never till now heard of Parricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD; and that eternally to be lamented *Murther*

of

of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this *curſed* and *Sacrilegious wickedneſſe* does directly fight againſt God, *By whom Kings Reign*; againſt his Word reveal'd in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, *to give unto Ceſar the things which are Ceſars.* Yea, and which does the higheſt affront that can be, to *Reaſon, Humanity*, and the common *ſociety of Subjects*: And (in a word) ſhews what it is to be an *Independent*.

*Moſt Renowned King*, our deſire is; That the judgements of God, be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irkeſome* unto us, and oft-times *ſecret*, yet they are alwayes *juſt*. Among which, theſe are eſpecially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciſeth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleaſed that *his own* ſhould groan under the preſſure of *Strangers*: (*For we do not acknowledge them to be* 'ENGLISH-MEN, *who do riſe up againſt the lawful* 'KING OF ENGLAND:) Which yet, that it is frequent and uſual, there is no need we ſhould fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES *Moſt Renowned Family*, is an abundant teſtimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us *Chriſtians*, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth; for thou didſt it*; to look up to the chaſtiſing right hand of God; to *poſſeſſe the ſoul in patience*; to commend *his own Cauſe* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royal Soul* of *your* MAJESTIES *Moſt Renowned Father*, who is *now happy in and with his Chriſt*, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr S. *Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may ſeriouſly repent, and confeſſing this their great wickedneſſe unto him, and beſeeching pardon for the ſame, may likewiſe return to their Liege-LORD,

as

as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submitted it self to the *Supream will* of GOD, and have evidenced *actually* and *indeed*, that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD; *Thy will be done.*

We further commend to Your *Sacred* MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion; whose very *safe guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious* KING) *who now triumphs among the blessed*, did declare to the World at *the point of death*, to rest in *the Canons a National Synod* *. Which truly we can in *no wise deny*. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire.

* See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

For the rest, we do, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue Your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish You with saving *Counsels*, and faithful *Councellours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne; and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. *Amen.*

---

*Several*

## *Several Verses made by diverse Persons upon His* MAJESTIES *Death*

### *An Epitaph upon King* CHARLS.

SO fals that Stately *Cedar* : while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the *Wood* ;
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span ;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book ;
And read it o're and o're ; which if he do,
He'l finde thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too ;
And sadly see our loss ; and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearse,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy suff'rings and Thy *Death* let no man name ;
It was Thy *Glory*, but the Kingdoms *Shame*.

*J. H.*

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ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Βασιλικῶν τε Νόμων, ὅχ᾽ ἄριστος
Σκηπτέχοι ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἐπιπλεν χερσὶν ἀλιτρῶν.

---

Another,

## Another:

*He that can ſpel a Sigh, or reade a Tear;*
*Pronounce amazement, or Accent wilde Fear:*
*Having All Grief by Heart, He, onely He*
*Muſt know to write and reade thy Elegy*
*Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art ſo hard a Text,*
*Writ in one Age, not underſtood i'th' next.*

## Another:

WIthin this Sacred *Vault* doth lye
The Quinteſſence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set, more Glorious ſhines,
The beſt of *Kings*, beſt of Divines;
*Britains* ſhame, and *Britains* glory,
Mirrour of Princes, complete Story
Of *Royalty*; One ſo exact
That th' *Elixers* of praiſe dedract:
Theſe are faint Shadows: But t'endure,
He's drawn to th Life in's *POURTRACTURE*:
If ſuch another *Piece* you'l ſee,
Angels muſt Limn it out, or He;
Where Wiſdom, Grace and Eloquuence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Martyr'd *He* was to ſave His Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws
Of ASSASINES; whoſe weal *He* ſought,
Even then when they His *Murder* wrought
With Horrid Plots, that *Headleſs* He
(And in *Him* Church and State) might be:
Then ſince Correlatives They were,
*Three Kingdoms in one* KING *lies here.*

*A. B.*

Upon

## Upon the Picture of His *Majesty*, sitting in His Chair before the High Court of Injustice.

4.

NOt so majestick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, Here God and Angels wait
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death, can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
Constant and fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soul, are all in oyl.

## Upon the Picture of His *Majesty* in His blew Wastcoat.

5.

HEre shines in a Feild *Azure* such a Star,
As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wayn.
Look! what a ray he darts? So *Moses* shone
While stupid *Israel* fore a Calf was thrown.
Onely the difference make, you must account
Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

*Upon the death of King* CHARLS *the first.*

*GReat! Good! and Juſt! could I but rate*
*My griefs, and thy too rigid fate.*
*I de weep the world to ſuch a ſtrain,*
*As it ſhould deluge once again.*
*But ſince thy loud-tongu'd blood demands ſupply*
*More from* Briareus *hands, then* Argus *eye.*
*I'le ſing thy obſequies with trumpet ſounds,*
*And write thy Epitaph with blood and Wounds.*

*MONTROSSE.*

Written with the point of his Sword.

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7.

*A Deep Groan at the Funeral of that Incomparable and glorious Monarch* CHARLS *the first.*

TO ſpeak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soul) we ſhould be Thunder-ſtruck and dumbe;
The trivial Offrings of our bubling eyes
Are but fair Libels at ſuch Obſequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to ſenſe, 'tis deep;
W'have loſt ſo much, that 'twere a ſin to weep.
The wretchet Bankrupt counts not up his ſummes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:
Our loſſe is finite when we can compute;
But that ſtrikes ſpeechleſſe, which is paſt recruit.
W'are ſunk to ſenſe; and on the Ruine gaze,
As on a curled Comnets firie blaze:
And Earthquakes fright us, when the reeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatal birth,
As Inundations ſeize our trembling eyes;
Whoſe rowling billowes over Kingdoms riſe.

Alas! our Ruines are caſt up, and ſped
In that black Total--*Charls* is Murthered.
Rebellious Gyanthands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in Glory roule.
That *Roman Monſters* wiſh in act we ſee,
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee,
The Butchery is ſuch, as when by *Cain*,
The fourth diviſion of the World was ſlain.
The mangled Church is on the ſhambles lay'd,
Her Maſſacre is on thy Block diſplay'd,
Thine is thy peoples epidemick Tombe,
Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombe*.
The Powder-mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
But reſpited by Traytours thus to bleed.
*Novembers* plots are brew'd and broach'd in worſe,
And *January* now compleats the Curſe.
Our Lives, Eſtates, Laws, and Religion, all
Lie cruſh'd, and gnaſhing in this diſmal fall.
Accurſed day that blotted'ſt out our Light!
May'ſt thou be ever muffled up in Night.
At thy return may fables hang the ſkie;
And tears, not beams, diſtil from Heavens Eye.
Curs'd be that ſmile that guilds a Face on thee,
The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
Let not a breath be wafted, but in moans,
And all our words be but articulate groans.
May all thy *Rubrick* be this diſmal Brand;
Now comes the miſcreant Dooms-day of the Land.
*Good-Friday* wretchedly tranſcrib'd; and ſuch
As Horrour brings alike, though not ſo much.
May Dread ſtill fill thy minutes, and we ſit
Frighted to think, what others durſt commit.
A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
And juſtly might create another *Hell*.
Above the ſcale of Crimes; Treaſon ſublim'd,
That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
*Raviliacks* was but under-graduate ſin,
And *Goury* here a Pupil Aſſaſſin.

*Infidel*

*Infidel* wickednesse, without the *Pale*;
Yet such as justifies the Cannibal.
Ryot Apochryphal of *Legend* breed;
Above the Canon of a Jesuites Creed:
Spirits of witchcraft; quintessential guilt;
Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.
Monstrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* span;
A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
So despitefully damnable, that here
Ev'n *Wild* smels Treason, and will not appear.
That murdering-peece of the new Tyrant-State,
By whom't hath shot black Destinies of late;
He that belched forth the Loyal *Burleighs* doom,
Recoyles at this so dreadful Martyrdom.
What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
That thus can grinde a seared Conscience?
Hellish Complotment! which a League renews,
Lesse with the men, then th'actions of the Jews.
Such was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
Of *Justice* now, 'mongst them was *Crucifie*:
*Pilates* Consent is *Bradshaws* Sentence here;
The *Judgement-Hall's* remov'd to *Westminster*.
Hayle to the Reeden Scepter; the Head, and knee
Act o're again that Cursed Pageantry.
The Caitiffe crew in solemn pomp guard on
Mock'd Majesty, as not to th' Block, but Throne,
The Belch agrees of those envenom'd Lyes;
There a Blasphemer, here a Murd'rer dyes.
If that go first in horrour, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that gastly Text.
The Heavens ne're saw, but in that Tragick howre,
Slaughter'd so great an *Innocence* and *Power*.
Blood-thirsty Tygers! could no stream suffice
To allay that Hell within your breasts but this?
Must you needs swill in *Cleopatra's* Cup,
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a sup?
Cisterns of Loyalty have deeply bled,
And now y'have damm'd the Royal Fountain Head.

Cruel *Plebotomie*! at once to drain
The *Median*, and the rich *Basilick* vein:
The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
Tis Scarlet deep, that s dy d in blood of Kings.
But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
To their wish d *Canaan* then through the Red Sea?
Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
And he be th Guide to this outragious Crowd?
Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine command*?
Doth th ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
And Holy-water wash the Devils face!
Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock d *Ark* inclose?
Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Jacobs* voice?
Must *Molechs* fire now on the *Altar* burn?
And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Bawd? and can
The *Bibles* Cover serve the *Alcoran*?
Thus when Hels meant, Religion s bid to shine
As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his *Mine*.
Here, here is sins *non ultra*, when one Lie,
Kils this, and stabs at *Majesty*.
And though his sleepy arm suspend the scourge,
Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
Though the soft hours a while in pleasures flie,
And conquering Treason sing her Lullabie.
The guilt at length in fury he l inroul
With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
Time may be when that *John-a-Leyden* King
His Quarters to this Tombe an Offring bring,
And that *Be-Munster* d Rabble may have eyes
To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
The judgement will be deeper though t be late.
And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc d,
But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.
Mean time (most blessed shade) the Loyal Eye
Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
Bove balmy *Spiknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
*Wonder of men and goodnesse!* stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engrost
All the *Heroes* glory which the Earth e're lost.
Thy priviledge tis onely to commence.
*Laureate* in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were 'bove all sweetnesse to digest,
And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test:
Both so immense, and infinitely vast,
The first could not be reach'd, but by the last.
Mean Massacres are but in death begun;
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
Friends not t'approach, or comfort, but to mourn
And weep their un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
But for thy presence *Carisbrook* had been Hell.
Thus basely to be Dungeon'd, would enrage
Great *Bajazet* beyond an iron Cage.
That deep indignity might have layn
Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
But here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Scepter-bearing Arms in chains.
The spew'd up surfeit of the glutnous Land:
Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach.
What royal eye but thine could sober see,
Bowing so low, yet bearing up so high?
What an unbroken sweetnesse grac'd thy Soul,
Beyond the World, proud conquest, or controul?

Maugre

Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepſt thy hold;
Thy Thorny Crown was ſtill a Crown of Gold.
Chaſte Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
Though others th' Uſe, Thou claim'dſt the Right of power.
The brave Athenian thus with (lopp'd-off Hands)
A ſtop to ſwelling ſayles by's mouth commands.
New Vigour rouz'd Thee ſtill in thy Embrov'ſs,
*Antæus* like, recruiting from the Foyles.
Victorious fury could not terrour bring,
Enough to quell a captivated King.
So did that *Roman Miracle* withſtand
*Hetrurian* ſhoals, but with a ſingle hand.
The Church in thee had ſtill her Armies; thus
The World once fought with *Athanaſius*.
The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decreed,
(No ſafety elſe for Treaſon) *Charls* muſt bleed.
Traytour and Soveraign now inverted meet;
The wealthy Olive's dragd to th' Brambles feet.
The Throne is Metamorphiz'd to the Barre,
And deſpicable Bats the Eagle dare.
Aſtoniſhment! yet ſtill we muſt admire
Thy courage growing with thy conflicts higher:
No palſied hands, or trembling knees betray
That Cauſe, on which thy ſouls ſure bottom'd lay.
So free and undiſturbed flew thy Breath,
Not as condemn'd, but purchaſing a Death.
Thoſe early Martyrs in their funeral pile,
Embrac'd their flames with ſuch a quier ſmile.
Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would'ſt not vayl
In one baſe ſyllable to beg thy Bayl!
How didſt thou bluſh to live at ſuch a price,
As aſk'd thy people for a ſacrifice?
Th' *Athenian Prince* in ſuch a pitch of Zeal,
Redeem'd his deſtin'd Hoaſt, and Common-weal;
Who brib'd his cheared Enemies to kill,
And both their Conqueſt, and their Conqueſtours fell.
Thus thou our Martyr dyedſt: but oh! we ſtand

A Ranſome for another *Charls* his Hand.
One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
Shall treaſnous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
And with ſuch veins the flames of Kingdoms quench.
Then thou art leaſt at *Weſtminſter*, ſhalt be
Fill'd in the pompous Liſt of Majeſty.
Thou *Mauſolæum* ſhall in glory riſe,
And tear and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
Til when (though black-mouth'd *Miſcreants* engrave)
No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave.
A Vault of Loyalty ſhall keep thy Name,
An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
On which, when times ſucceeding foot ſhall tread,
Such Characters as theſe ſhall there be read.
Here *Charls* the beſt of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.
Bulwark of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell:
An Engliſh *Solomon*, a *Conſtantine*;
Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
Meek ev'n to wonder, yet of ſtouteſt Grace.
To ſweeten Majeſty, but not debaſe.
So whole-made up of clemency, the Throne
And Mercy-ſeat to Him were alwayes one.
Inviting Treaſon with a pardoning look,
Inſtead of Gratitude, a ſtab He took.
With paſſion lov'd, that when He murdred lay,
Heav'n conquered ſeem'd, and Hell to bear the ſway.
A Prince ſo richly good, ſo bleſt a Reign.
The World ne're ſaw but one, nor can again.

——*Humano genere Natura benigna*
*Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe majus*
*Quo verâ dei, vivénſque eluxit imago:*
*Hunc quoniam ſcelerata cohors violavit, acerbas*
*Sacrilego Deus ipſe petet de ſanguine pœnas*
*Contemptámq; ſui Simulachri haud linquet inultum.*
Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth: Jacobi ſexti.

D. H. K. FINIS.

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